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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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9 December 1985

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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ANGOLA

RECRUITMENT OF PORTUGUESE MERCENARIES FOR CIVIL WAR DEPLOYED

Lisbon 0 DIABO in Portuguese 8 Oct p 21

[Text] The communist offensive in Angola against some of UNITA's principal positions seems to have abated; this is the conclusion reached in view of news reports published in this respect in the last few days. And although no communique concerning the movement spearheaded by Jonas Savimbi has reached our newspaper--which, moreover, we find strange--we are of the opinion that the news in question corresponds to reality. At least one thing is certain: UNITA's general headquarters continues to remain in Jamba where Savimbi is preparing a press conference to attest to the fact that not only Cubans but also Soviets are directly involved in the operations launched by the MPLA forces.

The Marxist government of Luanda itself discloses that the offensive has bogged down, although, as usual, it attributes that defeat to support given to the guerrillas by the Republic of South Africa: the loss of six helicopters of Soviet manufacture was clearly admitted in Luanda by the Ministry of Defense.

However, it is not of the military situation in Angola that we wish to speak; rather, it is of something said about that situation which has implications in relations to Portugal. As is obvious, it is a matter of the presence of Portuguese mercenaries among the international troops charged with keeping the Angolan people under the yoke of Soviet imperialism.

An initial news report, published on 23 September, mentioned the names of Jose Lima, Joao Avelaira, and Pedro Costa as being, respectively, the commander, co-pilot, and mechanic of a Soviet helicopter brought down by UNITA during its counteroffensive in the Mavinga area.

A second report, published on 4 October and attributed to a communique from UNITA, mentions the names of another nine Portuguese mercenaries who were killed by the guerrillas during the destruction of a squadron of four government units: commanders Walter Lemos, Jose Manuel, Antonio David Morais, and Fernando Manuel, and co-pilots Jose Carlos, Manuel Goncalves, Alvaro Quental de Fonseca, Mario da Assuncao Duarte, and Antonio Figueiredo.

Shortly after the publication of the first report, we were given to understand that the Lisbon government, although politically dying and burning up in electoral epilepsy, would not be able to make itself available to take a position on the subject. However, in the various contacts which we had with the Palacio das Necessidades, we were told by one of its officials, Traciano Tarroso, that the "Ministry of Foreign Affairs was continuing to await an official confirmation of the incident by the Angolan Government."

Insistent upon knowing what steps were allegedly taken by the Portuguese Embassy in Luanda with regard to an urgent clarification of the case, the same official could only tell us that that embassy "also had no information on the subject."

From the looks of things, even after the second report--increasing to 12 the number of Portuguese mercenaries killed in Angola in less than 2 weeks--Jaime Gama's ministry continues to be completely indifferent to the affair, as though we had nothing to do with the nationality of the aviators shot down, as though those aviators did not have families in Portugal, or as though it were the most natural thing in the world to have Portuguese involved in the Angolan civil war and contributing to an internationalization of the conflict. There is no doubt that Jaime Gama and his bosses are resolved until the end to remain squatting in front of anyone who taunts them, in this case the Soviet gang boss of Angola, Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

On the other hand--and in this case the fault is not that of the unfortunate Gama--the deaths in question constitute proof of the extremely serious behavior of the Portuguese leaders on the questions of mercenaries, whether they be communist militants or ordinary "soldiers of fortune". The government's passiveness in this respect and the silence which the various castes of the political class have maintained concerning the mercenaries who serve the MPLA are in marked contrast to the way in which they customarily become indignant at the presence in Lisbon of representatives of anticommunist movements from Angola and Mozambique, whose activities are restricted to the distribution of communiques. Even in this we see the shameful servility with which they pay tribute to the petty tyrants of Luanda and Maputo.

The presence of Portuguese mercenaries among the Angolan government forces was recently denounced by Jonas Savimbi. He blamed the recruitment entirely on the sinister Admiral Rosa Coutinho, the former high commissioner in Angola and the principal agent of the sovietization of that country. The denunciation made by Savimbi cannot have taken the Lisbon government by surprise, since, for a long time, the subject has ceased to be a mystery: it was brought up more than once in the Portuguese press, even including photographs of the landing of Portuguese mercenaries at the Portela airport, heading for Luanda.

It is known that the recruitment began in 1983 through CODECO (Society for Technical and Commercial Cooperation), an organization controlled by the "Red Admiral"; names and numbers were published; they even mentioned the amount of the pay; in truth, the only thing lacking was the amount of profit earned by Rosa Coutinho for the supply of this "cannon fodder". Despite this,

the criminal practice is continuing without punishment. And the same ones who, 11 years ago, to do a better job of concealing their betrayal bewailed the loss of lives in defense of Portuguese sovereignty, are now convinced that lives are being lost to maintain a Marxist dictatorship in Luanda.

A total of 12 will have died in 2 weeks. We know this from information put out by UNITA. We would never know it through the Lisbon government and much less through the Luanda government. We do not know how many others will have died in the meantime and are classified as missing or absent. What we do know is that those engaged with impunity in providing "cannon fodder" for the People's Republic of Angola are following a course which is absolutely intolerable.

8568/9871

CSO: 3442/22

ANGOLA

SOVIET OFFENSIVE AGAINST VARIOUS REGIONS DESCRIBED

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 8 Oct 85 p 21

[Article by Alexandre Vasconcelos]

[Text] The offensive launched by the Soviets in Angola was aimed principally at retaking control of large areas of the territory heretofore under the uncontested control of UNITA, such as nearly all of the area bounded on the north by the Benguela railroad, on the west by the New Lisbon meridian and on the south and east by the Namibian and Zambian borders.

On the East--Reconquer Cazombo

This offensive, involving more than 25,000 men, made up of Cuban troops and members of FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], was concentrated at several fronts. One of these, proceeding from bases in Saurimo (Henrique de Carvalho) and Luena (Luso), was aimed at retaking the Cazombo salient, an area liberated by UNITA in November 1983. At this front, where the Soviet presence was particularly intense and where a number of Russian advisers were killed by UNITA, there was intensive use of aircraft: MIG-21 and MIG-23 planes and MI-25 helicopters piloted by foreigners. At the same time, Cuban tanks advanced to break down UNITA's extremely strong resistance to the combat being waged in the area. The Marxist forces then resorted to bombing and mass destruction, with the clear intent of terrorizing the people favorable to UNITA; although the village of Cazombo was abandoned by UNITA, it is keeping its forces in the area surrounding the government troops.

In the Southeast--Mavinga

At the same time, the Soviets launched another big offensive against UNITA in the south, near the sanctuaries of Savimbi in Cuando-Cubango, a province where the Luanda government controls only two principal villages--Menongere (formerly Serpa Pinto) and Cuito Cuanavale. There the efforts of five FAPLA brigades, supported by irregulars from SWAPO, concentrated on Mavinga. Strong aerial support against anything that moved (the area is considered hostile and irrecoverable) preceded the advance of the communist columns which met with strong resistance at the outskirts of the city.

Is Reagan Doing Nothing?

The astonishing thing about this offensive--which the Russians masterminded and activated before the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting at which they plan to appear with the trump cards of the situations in Angola and Mozambique under control--employing gigantic means for this in Angola such as resorting in Mozambique to the Zimbabwe armies and Ethiopian pilots, has been the indifference of the West, of the United States. A genuine anti-Marxist movement, such as UNITA, is being attacked by an international coalition of communist forces and, as during the ominous time of Carter, the United States is doing nothing, unless it be to make a blind attack against South Africa, while President Reagan, misinformed by the liberals of the State Department, receives Samora Machel!

The abyss between words and deeds on this matter is beginning to be frightening. Although the UNITA leaders are maintaining their sang-froid and know that, even if the communists achieve circumstantial advantages, they will not have resolved any of the basic problems of Angola's guerrilla war. With the people continuing to be isolated and the cities surrounded, those same UNITA leaders are not ceasing to express their disillusionment at the behavior of the administration which, despite the repeated declarations of the President and Secretary of State Shultz indicating support of the "freedom fighters" and a desire to put an end to the "Brezhnev Doctrine", is doing nothing at this time to denounce to the world and help restrain an offensive directed and developed by foreign forces against people martyred for more than a decade by Russian-Cuban occupation.

The Marxists Repelled

At present, UNITA has managed, through violent fighting, to repel a Marxist offensive at the gates of Mavinga and force the FAPLA forces to retreat for a distance of more than 35 km. It can even be said that this combat is a "trial by fire" for the Savimbi guerrillas who lacked the experience of a conventional battle against an enemy equipped with aircraft and tanks.

Unfortunately, with the coming of the rains, the action of the government troops has become much more difficult; moreover, they are beginning to be attacked in other areas of the country which they disarmed for the benefit of the major offensive, such as Luanda Province itself where, last week, UNITA attacked at a distance of 60 km from the capital.

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BURKINA

AUTHENTICITY OF REVOLUTION DESCRIBED

Verona NIGRIZIA in Italian Sep 85 pp 6-9

[Article by Francois Misser: "The Youngest Revolution"]

[Text] On the second anniversary of the Burkina revolution, it is opportune to take a closer look at the evolution and principal tendencies of that revolution. It is only the beginning of an experiment that is expected to prove difficult.

On 4 August, Ouagadougou celebrated the second anniversary of the revolution. The symbols have of course changed: the former Upper Volta is henceforth Burkina Faso, the "country of honest men." On the new flag, the contact of the people--represented by a red stripe--with the green of the land that one hopes will be fruitful has yielded a spark, the spark of "creative genius" that the people have been invited to set free.

Everywhere in the streets of the capital there are posters calling on the people to mobilize for collective labor or urging mothers not to forget to have their infants vaccinated. A banner at the entrance to the market reads: "Inform on a swindler, and actively support the RDP" (People's Democratic Revolution).

Battle of the Railway

But all this is merely froth and folklore; the revolution has changed the people's ways far more than they could imagine. How surprised the residents of Ouagadougou were last April to see the central market completely deserted and surrounded by the militiamen of the revolutionary defense committees, with Kalashnikovs in hand; for all the merchants--whether volunteers or conscripts--had left beginning at dawn for the "battle of the railway."

Just as the teams from the other trades, these merchants had left by the thousands throughout the entire morning to lay the track for the Sahel line that the National Revolutionary Council (CNR)--the government--wants to build from the capital to the manganese mines at Tambao, 375 kilometers to the northeast near the Niger border.

Observing the progress of the operations, one definitely does not have the impression of being present at a forced labor camp. When one or the other of the teams becomes fatigued laying track, it trades places with the team that is spreading the ballast. The guards of the Ministry of Planning are amused at the sight of the minister's private secretary laboring and sweating like anyone else. Were it not for his tall stature, it would be impossible to recognize the young minister, Youssouf Ouedraogo, his hair gray with dust, as even he submitted to the directives of the technical experts of the company.

The CNR--whose two basic and complementary axes of economic policy are self-sufficiency in food and national independence--hopes that with the coming of the train the more prosperous regions to the south will be able to help the less favored areas.

Construction of the railway, moreover, is for President Thomas Sankara a work of political education in the concept of solidarity: an idea so fundamental that the head of state has already found himself leaving the presidential palace--without the knowledge of the police--to go to the site to encourage the day's crop of volunteers and set an example for them.

Although such behavior might at first glance be regarded as demagogic, Burkina government leaders believe it is necessary to arouse the people. In any event, 30 kilometers of railway have already been completed without any external financing. Engineering work has been completed as far as Kaya, 140 kilometers from Ouagadougou, and if all goes well this destination will be reached in early 1986.

Health to the People

In the area of public health, the "vaccination commando" campaign that was carried out over a 3-week period in late November and early December 1984 also represented a profound break with the past and will endure, in the eyes of history, as one of the finest enterprises of its kind ever carried out on the African continent!

"Down with colonialism! Down with neocolonialism! Down with meningitis! Health to the people!" shouted the committees for the defense of the revolution that are charged with forming throughout the country the endless lines of mothers--with their babies on their backs and their small children at their side--in front of the vaccination stations.

This might even elicit laughter, except that the Burkina authorities in April received the congratulations of James Grant, executive director of UNICEF, on the undertaking accomplished. And for good reason: in this very short period of time--in this country of 7 million residents--a total of 1,184,412 children from 9 months to 6 years of age were vaccinated against measles, and 2,110,230 from 9 months to 14 years against yellow fever; and as many as 2,571,834 from 9 months to 14 years were immunized against meningitis! These results were consistent with the predictions, on the order respectively of 94.15 percent, 90.69 percent and 106.5 percent of the estimates. The seeming anomaly represented by the latter figure is explained by the influx of

refugees from Mali and Niger who were driven from their homelands by famine and drought and whom the Burkina Government also wanted to care for in the interest of its own nationals. To this end, additional doses have been requested from the various donors.

It is foolish to attempt to say to what extent there has been a change in the climate of the public services, which elsewhere in Africa are so often characterized by their inefficiency and their corruption. Capt Thomas Sankara and his ministers, however, have set an example of austerity by exchanging all the Mercedes of the government's motor vehicle fleet for the more modest Renault 5's. Civil servants make every effort to arrive punctually and now live haunted by the thought of Wednesday evening--the day on which the radio announces the names of those who are suspects, those who have been freed, and those who have been fired.

In the first case they will find themselves forced to continue working but will receive no further salary. In the second case they will be sent back home, without salary of course. And finally, in the last case they will simply be stricken from the civil service rolls.

The government is skillfully using the carrot and the stick technique, by announcing on the same day the reinstatement of other civil servants. These Draconian measures reflect an unequivocal determination to heighten the moral awareness of a work force that has often believed itself to be above the law. During my visit it was the turn of those policemen who had been flagrantly guilty of drunkenness or absenteeism to be the target.

Popular Planning

Although the reforms cited concern mainly only this or that fraction of the population regardless of its importance, all Burkina citizens are invited to participate in an unprecedented experiment of the collective preparation of the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan.

"It's ridiculous! How is it possible to imagine a plan constructed on a national scale and incorporating the requirements of a Mr Ouedraogo?" an international expert said sarcastically after the announcement of the news last April. Youssouf Ouedraogo, the minister in question, replied that this kind of talk comes from "lazy intellectuals" or "fraudulent acrobats." Just as the People's Development Plan (PPD) which it will follow, the 5-Year Plan consists of three parts: the basic program, implemented by the people themselves; the medium-range support program demanded by the government, and the great projects of national interest.

Based on what it is possible to discern from the basic program of the PPD, the population has reacted positively. The grain banks that were created to combat speculation by the merchants, the wells that were dug, and the cinemas and provincial and village stadia that were intended to prevent the emigration of young people, were necessities which were too apparent not to receive broad-based support.

The obstacles, however, are real. Implementation of some of the IPD projects has gone forward slowly, and the administrative tardiness of the investors has been a factor.

"The targets are being met less rapidly," complains Seriba Ouattara, high commissioner of Comoe, which is near the Ivory Coast border. In point of fact, the local authorities told us that in Kombissiri Province southwest of Ouagadougou and in Yatenga Province in the extreme north, the objectives of the basic program were only 70 percent fulfilled. That is a remarkable figure, however, in view of the fact that this is the first time anyone has witnessed a general mobilization of this kind, and especially since the program is being implemented in the context of a drought that has afflicted many regions of the country. Because of the bad 1984 harvest, the grain deficit--if you combine the human requirements with those of livestock--came to 300,000 tons for the period 1984-85. As if that were not enough, the ports of Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Lome (Togo) were completely clogged in May of this year.

Struggle in the Desert

Despite the above, a 90 percent implementation of the IPD is anticipated in the region of Bobo-Dioulasso, the country's second largest city. Even better indications are available at the level of the support program. Four "bush" airports have already been built at Orodara, Gawa, Dori and Ngorom-Ngorom. One of their principal functions will be to help transport the emergency food aid from those areas of the country where there are surpluses to those areas where there are shortages during rainy periods. In the same context, the plans for construction of 1,200 kilometers of communications trails, 25 catchment basins (reservoirs) and 129 grain banks are in process of implementation.

As for the third part of the IPD--that of the "great projects"--it is already well under way. In addition to the construction of the Sahel railway network, work has begun at the site of the Kompienga dam, where the access roads and "workers' city" are under construction. Here, too, an attempt is being made to endow the country with a structure that will enable it to reduce its energy dependence.

The priority accorded to agriculture--and in particular to the irrigation projects and the effort to achieve a better harmonization of government policy with the policy of the Nongovernmental Entities (ONG)--could not, however, suffice in the absence of an effective struggle against desertification. Just a few years ago there were only half a million people living in the regions situated north of the 600 mm isohyet, which has since moved downward so far that the figure of half a million has now risen to 2.5 million, aided by the population explosion. Even more than these statistics, however, the appearance last March of an immense cloud of dust that enshrouded the capital in a red haze has speeded up implementation of vigorous antideforestation measures since last April. Henceforth, "bush fires" will be regarded as a crime and punished as such. The cutting of firewood is strictly regulated, and only recognized merchants may engage in its sale.

These protective measures will be accompanied by a plan for regenerating nature: collective tree plantings are planned. The announcement of these decisions provoked some excitement: the next day, people began to envision a shortage of firewood. In reality, the situation remains unchanged for the peasants, who make up the great majority of the Burkina people: they are free to cut enough firewood to meet their own requirements. There are no longer any caravans of carts to supply the population centers, however. Exploitation of this resource will be organized in accordance with very strict criteria. The fact is that the situation is as dramatic here as elsewhere in the Sahel: Burkina consumes a total of 4.75 million cubic meters of firewood per year, whereas the available resources come to less than 3.5 million cubic meters. The disparity reflects the rate of annual deforestation.

Nonalignment

This ostentatiously anti-imperialist radical discourse is not to everyone's liking, however. The arrangements for foreign financing of the reconstruction and development policy of the CNR are meeting with the opposition of the IMF, which did not exactly appreciate the fact that the part of the national budget allocated to investments was doubled in 1985 to reach the figure of 8 percent. The situation is all the more critical in that the government has inherited from previous regimes a debt service that increased from 10 percent in 1983 to 19 percent in 1985. Persistent efforts were required before the financing institutions would allow work to begin on the Kompienga dam.

In addition to the technical arguments put forward on appropriate occasions, there is also an entire area of silence comprising the reticences observed with respect to the daring positions taken by Burkina on the international diplomatic scene. In this regard, the 4 October 1984 speech by President Thomas Sankara at the UN provides some clarification: "Just as we condemned the foreign aggression against the island of Grenada, we likewise denounce all instances of foreign intervention. We therefore cannot remain silent in respect to the foreign intervention in Afghanistan."

To the Libyans, who want to lend the progressive countries of West Africa their economic cooperation in exchange for security agreements that threaten to infringe upon the sovereignty of those states, Sankara reportedly said--during the quadripartite summit of last 27 April, speaking both for himself and for Jerry Rawlings of Ghana and Mathieu Kerekou of Benin--that "the greyhound, regardless of his strength, his speed, his sense of smell and his cunning, all of which make him an excellent hunter on dry land, must yield place completely to the alligator when he enters the pond to hunt fish."

And to the Soviets--whose shipments of grain have been so parsimonious since the catastrophic harvest of 1984--the domestic press has openly expressed its disappointment, contending that in the "days of the great Lenin" the USSR would have sent tractors to Burkina.

And although the aid from France is still the most significant, it is nevertheless tending to stagnate; and the number of cooperant personnel has decreased because the socialists do not always appreciate being regarded as "neocolonialists."

In the domestic area, the deliberate decision of the CNR to favor the rural and peasant sectors has created discontent among the wage earners of the towns--and especially among the civil servants, who have seen their income cut by either 1 month's or half a month's wages, depending on classification. More than 1,200 teachers belonging to the national teachers union who were protesting the austerity measures and demanding the release of three of their imprisoned leaders have been fired from their jobs. Even Soumane Toure, the number one official of the Burkina Trade Union Federation, which is close to the pro-Soviet African Independence Party, is in prison. Other trade unionists who drew up a joint statement on 28 January of this year criticizing government policy have suffered a similar fate, and on 1 May the committees for the defense of the revolution used force to break up a meeting of union members.

'Lumpen' Youth

As for the other social sectors, although the big merchants and the few manufacturers of the country are adjusting more or less to collaboration with the CNR, the small merchants on the other hand and the small and medium-sized enterprises have from the outset of the revolution remained rather aloof and are exporting their capital--acquired in a more or less lawful manner--to Togo and the Ivory Coast.

It is known that ever since the May 1984 coup d'etat--whose perpetrators were killed--those who are nostalgic for the previous order of things have been willing to do anything to regain power. Moreover, even though the climate is today one of resignation, the thirst for power has not been completely quenched within the hierarchy of the opposition trade unions, to the point that many activists of the Burkina Trade Union Federation agree with the members of the CNR in acknowledging the autocratic behavior of Soumane Toure. As for the leaders of the national union of African teachers, ever since the day following the revolution they have attempted to use the union's leverage for rightist political purposes inspired by the Upper Volta Progressive Front of the historic Joseph Ki-Zerbo, who is close to the Socialist International.

And although in the rural areas the organization of the committees of the revolution does not appear to pose any serious problems, it is likewise true that their composition in the towns does explain the excesses committed. This results from the fact that the government has attempted to socialize the "lumpen" youth, but it will take time for these young illiterates to be able to assimilate a minimum of civic education. Unemployed, long since relegated to the lowest rung in society, and even today often lacking the means of subsistence, they are finding themselves endowed overnight with the power that is represented by a Kalashnikov. The temptation is therefore great to use that power to show that they do exist, and to take revenge on those intellectuals who despise them.

Moreover, the people are willing to make the distinction between the excesses of the committees for the defense of the revolution and the personalities of the individual leaders, beginning with that of Capt Thomas Sankara.

Even his detractors acknowledge that he has helped to alleviate the inferiority complex of the Burkina people, by finding the right words 'to encourage the population to strive to attain levels of achievement of which they had believed themselves incapable.

'We Are Not Pol Pot Types'

But even if we are therefore witnessing an undeniable change of outlook, a clean break with the past has not been made. "We are not Pol Pot types," the smiling young minister of external relations, Basile Guissou, reassures us. Indeed, not only are former presidents Maurice Yameogo and Sangoule Lamizana at liberty, but the president even consults them. As for the penultimate president, Maj Dr Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo, he is under house arrest at Po in the southern part of the country, but his family is allowed to visit him.

In the economic sector, one would be wrong to believe that the young team currently in power wants to burn all its bridges. Realizing that the state cannot take all activities under its charge, the CNR wants to leave a role to the private sector in order to avoid a return to profiteering on food and to fraud.

And finally, what are the principles that have inspired this revolution, which is at one and the same time both radical and pragmatic? A socialist influence is certainly present, but the models are not worshiped blindly. Did not Sankara warn that "any African, any revolutionary, who attempts to build his revolution on the revolutions of others is guilty of primary mimicry?"

One assuredly also encounters an inimitable style: one characterized by an imagination and a sensitivity that are tinged with humanism. To convince oneself of this, one must fathom the strange syncretism evinced by Sankara. "Until now," he says, "we have turned the other cheek. The slaps have doubled, but the heart of the villain has not been moved. They have trampled on the truth of the righteous. They have betrayed the Word of Christ. They have transformed His cross into a club. And after clothing themselves in His tunic, they have lacerated our bodies and our souls. They have westernized Him, whereas we welcomed him as universal liberation. Now our eyes have been opened to the class struggle. There will be no more slaps...."

And there are many--among this leadership and among this people, which is one of the most Christian peoples of the entire continent--who vibrate to these words from the head of state, whose father is president of the Christian community of Papoya in Ouagadougou.

This sincerity on the part of the new team in power, its integrity, are acknowledged by the majority of foreign observers in Ouagadougou. And all this is not empty rhetoric.

10992
CSO: 3428/1

BURKINA

MILITARY ACADEMY'S HISTORY, MISSION, ACTIVITIES OUTLINED

Commandant on AMGN

Ouagadougou SIDWAYA in French 9 Oct 85 p 1

[Interview with Lt Daniel Traore, commandant of the Georges Namoano Military Academy, by Martin Kabore; date and place not specified.]

[Text] The Georges Namoano Military Academy (AMGN) in Po will be 1 year old on 10 October. Its first class is scheduled to graduate in a few days. Yet many Burkinabe are still quite unaware of the academy's existence. To correct this situation, Martin Kabore, our colleague and correspondent in Nahouri province, met with Lt Daniel Traore, the AMGN's commandant.

Question: The military academy recently lost one of its students, the late lamented Georges Namoano for whom it is now named. Beyond the sadness caused by this immense loss to the RDP [People's Democratic Revolution], what memories do his fellow cadets and instructors have of him?

Answer: First of all, I want to thank the Nahouri press and hence the national press for having given me the opportunity to acquaint the largest possible number of Burkinabe with the AMGN. Your mention of Georges Namoano does indeed bring back painful memories not only for me, but likewise for all members of the military academy family to which he belonged, and for all active members of the RDP as well.

I shall first talk about my recollections of him as a militant comrade within the permanent secretariat of the People's Salvation Council (CSP) during that organization's earliest days. Georges Namoano, myself, and a certain number of fellow activists had so organized ourselves as to pursue a common strategy in opposition to reactionary military elements who had succeeded in infiltrating the CSP with straw men, such as the Cuebre Fideles and others. Our debates with Georges Namoano helped strengthen the revolutionary zeal of all those CSP members who had no clear revolutionary conscience and were still motivated simply by feelings of rebellion against the neocolonial society of that day. For us of the AMGN, his death is a tragedy we shall never be able

to forget. In a way, Georges Namoano was this school's breath of life in both its military and revolutionary activities. And he was suddenly taken from us precisely at a time when we needed him most. The revolutionary ideal, for which he had always lived and devoted his entire life, will continue to inspire and nourish our revolutionary spirit. With George Namoano's death, all militant Africa mourns one of its worthy sons.

Question: The existence of a military academy in Po is generally quite unknown to many Burkinabe and perhaps to persons in other countries. Can you trace its history for us?

Answer: The Georges Namoano Military Academy is one of the many victories with which the RDP can be credited.

It was established for the purpose of accelerating the "revolutionarization" of our army and thus make it a truly people's army. The choice of Po as the site for the academy is most significant in this regard. You will no doubt recall it was from the majestic heights of Nahouri Peak that our freedom fighters from CNEC (National Commando Training Center)--supported by all progressives of what was then Upper Volta--left on the now historic night of 4 August 1983.

The Georges Namoana Military Academy was officially founded on 10 October 1983. Its primary mission is to educate and train officers and noncommissioned officers for all branches of the national armed forces. Their training is based on the principles enunciated in the political orientation speech of 2 October 1983. It is designed to provide our armed forces with technically qualified officers and NCO's devoted to the people's cause which they are duty bound to defend at all times.

Question: Can foreign nationals attend the AMGN?

Answer: The military academy's vocation is not merely national. It is also Pan-African. For this reason, its doors remain open to all countries interested in having their officers trained in Burkina Faso.

Question: Does existence of the AMGN mean that Burkina will gradually stop having its officers trained in other countries?

Answer: The AMGN's existence means that we intend to train, first and foremost, those types of officers we need here in our country. This policy has a twofold advantage. First, the officers and NCO's trained in the harsh Burkinabe realities on Burkinabe soil, will be more suited to serving their country. Secondly, we are the ones who design the training program, what they have to be taught. And I believe this is something very important, inasmuch as our sovereignty is thereby expressed in the type of training to be given our officers and NCO's. In a word, this is an act of sovereignty dictated to us by the revolution, because free peoples personally look after their own future. Nevertheless, a few officers and NCO's will still continue to be trained abroad because there are certain kinds of specialized training we cannot provide as yet in this country.

Question: What sort of extracurricular activities do you have at the AMGN?

Answer: Our extracurricular activities are called production activities. So rather it must be said that they are those activities which are on a par with the activities of all military personnel in our different military posts, camps, and stations.

Production activities at the academy are conducted in conformity with the watchword issued by the CNR [National Revolutionary Council] and reiterated in the seminar held at the people's army level. At the AMGN, we have also initiated a certain number of production activities. For instance, we are growing peanuts and soybeans on several hundred meters of land inside the school's property. Why soybeans? You must realize that the soybean plant has enormous potentialities. It is one of the world's most useful sources of protein. We deemed it worthwhile to conduct this experiment so that we can share it with other militant groups. At the same time, we initiated a program of livestock production. For the moment, however, this project is not in an advanced stage because we are building the necessary support facilities. It is now merely a matter of time. Furthermore, we have been able to participate in a certain number of production activities at the provincial level. These include afforestation projects. We even have our own grove inside the academy property. We also have a small orchard which, I believe, can become larger year after year. All in all, it may be said that this is probably not much. I am convinced, however, that with the ardor and militant zeal of all persons at the military academy, we shall succeed in converting the watchword "production" into a veritable weapon in the war against reaction by achieving self-sufficiency in food.

Revolutionary Week Activities

Ouagadougou SIDWAYA in French 10 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Martin Kabore]

[Text] Mass athletics keynoted the opening of Revolutionary Week early Saturday morning 5 October at the AMGN in Po. It all began with a people's cross-country race joyfully run over a 3-kilometer course by a large number of contestants. The race ended with a weed-removal contest in the center of the city. In a speech given before the activities started, the representative of the corps of cadets, comrade Kambou Kambea, said that by selecting "mass athletics, a veritable catalyst of peoples" as the theme for the opening of this week, the AMGN wanted to highlight the revolutionary enthusiasm of our hard-working masses resolutely determined to crush their enemies.

In his opening speech, the AMGN's commandant, Lt Sidiki Daniel Traore, explained that this first Revolutionary Week organized by the academy will take its place as one of the RDP's many victories, in that it will not be a mere formality, a simple act of mimesis designed to lay claim to the political label of revolutionary. Instead it will be an opportunity to consolidate the gains made by our revolution and assure us of other victories to come. Referring to this week's program of activities--political, social, cultural, and athletic--

the AMGN commandant said that these activities were meant to intensify the revolutionary struggle. In closing, he expressed the hope that, with the enthusiastic participation of all citizens of the Nahouri region, this Revolutionary Week would be a success. The week will end on Saturday 12 October with the AMGN cadet graduation ceremony.

The night of 5 October featured a public debate during which comrade Paulin Babou Bamouni gave two lectures on "Disinformation and False Propaganda" and "The RDP and Manifestations of Occultism." The rest of this Revolutionary Week's activities includes lectures, films, special projects of common interest, plus soccer and volleyball games.

8041

CSO: 3419/33

BURKINA

CDR MEMBERS COMPLETE MILITARY TRAINING

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 19 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Fidele Toe and Aib Dedougou]

[Text] CDR [Committee for Defense of the Revolution] militants from Dedougou commune just wound up their military training last September 30. During their training, the CDR comrades of the ninth class became familiar with military discipline by practicing drill and ceremony and by performing different combat exercises. Certificates were handed out in front of the People's Recreational Center buildings in the presence of the highest provincial official, comrade Mathurin Kambou, who was accompanied by the new RPC [Central African People's Rally] head corpsman Lieutenant Banagoun Zan and the provincial secretary-general Joseph Yameoago. Speaking on behalf of his classmates, the ninth class delegate, after reminding his audience of the purpose of the People's Army as defined by the CNR [National Council of the Revolution], stated that it was within that context that the militants from different social strata of Dedougou, committed to the revolutionary doctrine, agreed to be initiated to military life. This training, though brief, the delegate concluded, will enable us to energetically confront and defeat any enemy. Lieutenant Zan, who in turn congratulated the ninth class for having withstood the rough conditions of military life, announced that the certificates should not be considered the only proof of true revolutionary commitment, but rather the papers they will carry with them daily in their geographical sectors will be evidence of their RDP [People's Democratic Revolution] membership. The last speaker, the comrade high commissioner, mainly stressed the security and political and ideological training of our people. The security of our people depends entirely on our revolutionary faith. We need to become more mobilized in our sectors, villages and cities to prevent any enemy from slipping through. Nothing is impossible for the stout-hearted, the high commissioner concluded. After the certificates were handed out, the ceremony concluded with a parade led by the garrison's brass band.

9825/12947
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CHAD

REVOLUTIONARY MILITIA TRAINEES GRADUATE

Ndjamena INFO-TCHAD in French 26 Sep 85 pp 1-3

[Text] Some 150 new members of the Popular and Revolutionary Militia [MPR] finished their training on Tuesday after 3 months of schooling in the National Police Academy in Ndjamena. They are the second contingent of militia to graduate from this institution, which in the past only trained national Criminal Investigation Department personnel. Among the trainees are eight women. This ceremony, attended by a number of civilian and military personalities from Ndjamena, gave officials the chance to emphasize the role which the militia has assumed.

Presiding at this second militia graduation ceremony was the acting commissioner for security of the UNIR [National Union for Independence and Revolution], Mr Moussa Nadja, who said that the MPR provides significant support to our armed forces in their endeavor to defend our country and the safety of lives and property. The commissioner said that on several occasions the militia has worked actively alongside the security forces in maintaining security in the city of Ndjamena and outlying population centers. Also, Mr Moussa Nadja expressed the hope that the role of the militia will be perpetuated and even expanded. "What our unity movement wants, and what our founding president and the government want as well," he told the militiamen, "is to provide you all with more resources and more training so that you can discharge your duties. Our country's current situation requires of us increased vigilance, an appropriate defense capability, and a substantial militia," he added.

The head of the Criminal Investigation Department, El Hadj Brahim Djida, noted that in 1983, at the height of the war, patriots banded together in self-defense in our capital city in order to cope with any contingencies. From that was born the idea of setting up a militia to protect the civilian population, and subsequently the birth of UNIR.

The MPR, as the vanguard of the revolution and the spear-carrier of the UNIR movement, the melting pot for all the social strata of the population, has the mission of assuring the perpetuation and flourishing of UNIR's fundamental objectives; assisting the police forces in every way possible in the defense of the country's internal and external security; maintaining order; denouncing and combatting, everywhere and in every circumstance, any

activity contrary to the noble ideals of the movement, particularly tribalism, regionalism, religious intolerance, sectarianism, favoritism and corruption; and working in every possible way to consolidate the national unity that has been so dearly purchased. The militiamen should also contribute to rescue and assistance missions in serious disasters and other calamities, and, finally, participate in sensitizing, informing and mobilizing our popular masses in accordance with the objectives of the movement.

The director of the Criminal Investigation Department said that the MPR has always fulfilled the hopes high officials have placed in it.

The director of the National Police Academy, Mr Guemdje Bayan, who had taken the rostrum a few moments previously, lavished advice on the graduating young militiamen, exhorting them to serve as social facilitators, enforcing the laws but taking into account the human, family and social imperatives they will encounter. The militiamen should not only enforce the laws but also maintain their self-respect. Among other things, they should respect the free movement of citizens, the inviolability of private homes except in accordance with lawful procedures, etc....Following their graduation, the militiamen sent President El Hadj Hissein Habre the motion of support which we publish herewith below:

Motion of Support for The Comrade Founding President of the UNIR And Members of the Central Committee

--Considering the unmistakable aggression being carried out against our country by the fool of Syrte [Qadhdhafi];

--Considering the great attention paid by the founding president of UNIR to the policy of reconciliation, security and peace in our country;

--Considering the need to insure that power is exercised by the people and for the people;

--Considering the policy of cooperation with all countries that love peace, freedom, justice and progress;

--Considering the committed struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, hegemonism and every other form of domination of man by man;

--Considering the laudable efforts the Commissariat of Security is making in the training of militiamen;

We, militiamen graduating from the National Police Academy, conscious of our role as vanguard of the revolution and the missions that have been assigned to us:

--Condemn strenuously the illegal occupation of the northern part of our country by Qadhdhafi of Libya.

--Encourage the policy of reconciliation preached by the Third Republic;

--Approve and support the fundamental objectives UNIR has established in internal and external policy;

--Promise faithfully to fulfill our tasks in accordance with the law governing the MPR;

--Encourage the initiative of the Commissariat of Security to continue the political and paramilitary training of the militia;

--Approve unreservedly the recommendations of the 2nd regular session of the Central Committee held from 17 August to 4 September 1985 in Ndjamená.

Reiterate to His Excellency El-Hadj Hissein Habre, chief of state, founding president of UNIR, our sincere and unshakeable support for the revolutionary struggle which he is undertaking to protect our country's honor, independence and territorial integrity.

9516

CSO: 3419/30

CHAD

DETAILS ON 1985-86 SCHOOL YEAR GIVEN

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 1 Oct 85 pp 1-6

[Text] Several hundred thousand students will head back to Chad's elementary, secondary and advanced schools this morning. For most educational institutions it will be an occasion of warm reunions and the shared joy of getting back to the world of blackboards, desks, textbooks and sports. But the opening of the 1985-1986 academic year is clouded by the same apprehensions as in the past, because of the many unresolved problems still facing the Department of Education.

The thorniest problems concern the shortage of educational materials, classrooms and qualified personnel. Last year some 422,325 students finished their schooling, but this was made possible only by the enormous sacrifices and efforts sustained by Department of Education officials, teachers and parents. Thus it is appropriate that this year the Ministry of National Education has called for everyone's participation, especially the parents of school-children. As the school year was about to begin, the state secretary for national education, Mr Mbailaou Djimalde made an important statement, which we publish below in its entirety.

First of all, directing my remarks to you dear parents of school-children joined together in the School Patrons Associations, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the 1985-1986 school year coincides with the International Youth Year, the principal themes of which are participation, development and peace. So it is possible at this time, and on this occasion, for all of us together to encourage the dynamism of youth. The schools should be the concern of all of us. Since education concerns all of us, allow me, dear patrons, to describe for you briefly the educational philosophy that was adopted immediately upon the arrival of the patriotic forces [line missing] between traditional schooling and the new kind of schooling for which we have opted.

In the aftermath of 7 June 1982 the government of the Third Republic gave priority in the short term to the resuscitation of the existing institutions, in order to meet the most pressing needs, to assure the functioning of the educational system at a minimal level of quality.

At the Ministry of National Education, we took realistically into account the unfavorable international situation; nevertheless, we searched for innovative ways to think about how to get all Chadians behind the struggle against ignorance, misery and poverty--in short, against underdevelopment--in accordance with the policy of his excellency El Hadj Hissein Habre, president of Chad, chief of state, founding president of our unity movement, the UNIR [National Union for Independence and Revolution].

Obviously, given the world economic crisis, viable solutions are in short supply. Thus the new Chadian education strategies take into account the limitations imposed by the economic crisis and establish limited sectoral objectives to be realized within a reasonable time-frame: objectives that are modest, practical and adapted to the available resources. But that does not mean that officials in the Department of National Education fail to recognize the necessity of defining a long-range policy for the improvement of education, the need for serious thought and study, or the need for innovation and creativity, by putting emphasis among other things on:

1. Elimination of illiteracy through coordinated action to renovate elementary education, make it universal, and undertake adult literacy campaigns. You will agree with me that illiteracy--which is one of the great social problems, since it affects more than three-fourths of the Chadian population, in the prefectures, the chief towns, the cantons and the villages--is a veritable scourge. The only way to eliminate it is to make primary school truly universal. But here again, dear patrons, since you yourselves are concerned, you will once again agree with me that the universal primary education to which I allude is still hindered by several kinds of obstacles: insufficiency of material resources, classrooms and equipment.

Given the fact that only a relatively small proportion--about 30 percent--of the school-age children are in classes, the Ministry of National Education proposes to assume a greater oversight role with regard to Koranic schools and the "madrisses" [translation unknown] and to integrate them gradually into the formal education system, in order to accelerate the drive toward literacy, for literacy is literacy, whether it be in French or Arabic. But that is not to say that by learning Arabic one is necessarily converted to Islam, for not every Arab is a Muslim, and not every Muslim is an Arab.

2. Improvement and renovation of education in science and technology, as discussed in the two seminars on science education held in Ndjamena with the participation of experts from CONFEMEN [Conference of Ministers of National Education of French-speaking States]. In addition to these two points emphasized by the Ministry of National Education, we think it

necessary to consider the current situation in education. Not only in Chad, but everywhere in the world, we are seeing the quantitative and qualitative inadequacy of academic education, which is why almost everywhere there are springing up nonacademic educational institutions and new methods are being developed to prepare young people for their careers.

We can all see that education, or more precisely the traditional education that has been dominant in the past, has been focused mainly on teaching or instruction in the academic disciplines, and accordingly the preferred teaching techniques were verbal, passive, and oriented toward memorization. For these reasons, the traditional school was organized around textbooks, courses of study and examinations. By comparison with traditional schooling, the movement for modern, humanistic, active and integral education looks at the student as a whole person and works for his full development and preparation for life. Activities in the new education complement theoretical instruction by instilling a series of attitudes, principles and habits that will help prepare the student for life.

The continuing objective of the government of the Third Republic is to make school an effective instrument in the service of economic and social development. This of course involves integrating the school into the wider environment, by making mastery of agricultural and artisanal practices an integral part of the basic academic curriculum, so that students who drop out of school will be able to use the knowledge they have gained in work on the land or with materials. Education in a rural environment? We are in favor of renewal. As you know, Chad, like all colonized countries, inherited an educational system that was, to put it as kindly as possible, poorly adapted to the realities of the Chadian masses.

The policy of the new Chadian education thus integrates students at all levels--primary, secondary, general and technical--into the regional production system, through close collaboration with the regional development agencies and through a symbiotic cooperation between [word missing] schools, of apprenticeship centers and school eating facilities. This is the logical consequence of taking into consideration the needs and priorities of the [word missing] of Chad, who have continually been subjected to all kinds of disturbances.

Thus, the introduction of productive work is the most frequent first step leading toward this renewal, and we want to break definitively with that social-educational system which has turned the highly educated elite away from the social system and modes of production, by inculcating in them disdain of manual labor and peasant life, and by leading them to consider urban life as inherently desirable, while the majority of the people live, as we well know, in rural areas. It is in these areas, however, that the inadequacy of educational services--both qualitatively and quantitatively--is most blatant; in reality, education has made only a weak contribution to progress in rural areas, because of the limited scope given to various types of training, especially agricultural training and technical-vocational training.

So, then, it would be good for us to do something about these educational gaps. Do you agree? What is even more deplorable is that even though some students in urban areas such as Ndjamena, Sarh, Moundou or Abeche have desks, read in books, write on notebooks or slates, enjoy electricity and running water--other Chadian students only have access to very primitive educational facilities, sit on the ground, maybe even in the sand, have no desks, no blackboards, no books, no slates, no notebooks. And there are orphans, handicapped youths, the children of displaced persons. Special measures have just been taken to cope with the unique problems of these groups, as part of the humanistic worldview that inspires the UNIR central committee. It would be ideal to see that these groups get education comparable to that received by the majority of the other Chadians living around them. But despite all the resolutions taken, much progress remains to be accomplished to insure that everyone has every possible opportunity, that there is equality of opportunity for all, and to guarantee that everyone has the chance to fully exercise their right to an education.

Dear patrons, you should know that in addition to that effort, we have achieved the following: redefined curricula and the content of instruction and strengthened technical training so as to achieve a better harmonization between academic life and vocational pursuits. This is responsible for the plan to create multifunctional academic complexes. And we have raised the general level of instruction by teacher training. In conclusion, dear patrons, for those who have not yet done so, I would like to exhort you to form a school patrons' association, to support the efforts already made by the government and the Third Republic in the areas of restoration of schools, purchase of academic supplies, and in short I call on you to take responsibility yourselves for the schooling of your child.

Dear colleagues in the field of education--full-timers, part-timers, volunteers: together, during the last school year, this was where we stood:

1. In elementary education: 25 primary and 4 principal inspectorates; 1,170 primary schools with enrollment of 355,932 students. The number of elementary teachers in all the various categories is 4,871.

2. In secondary education: 51 institutions (13 high schools, 48 CEG's [General Education Certificate institutions]), with 929 academic classes attended by 41,891 students, taught by only 281 licensed instructors. I emphasize the word "only," because teaching experts are coming to us [word missing] in our secondary and technical schools, until the return of our countrymen who have been recruited for teacher training.

3. In technical/vocational education: 2 industrial-technical schools, 2 commercial technical schools and 12 apprenticeship centers, with enrollment of 1,224 students and with 168 instructors of various kinds.

4. In Arabic instruction: this category of instruction, carried out in accordance with the Basic Act, needs to be made universal, so that the official language will be taught throughout the public school system. At

present this program is going full steam ahead at the private school level, with 73 schools, 23,278 students and 559 volunteer teachers.

5. In the field of initial and continuing teacher instruction: accelerated change in knowledge and technology, the emergence of new fields and new types of activities, the ever more rapid change in career structures and profiles, are requiring ever higher levels of initial training and frequent rehabilitation and refresher courses. Our five normal schools are operating and each year provide significant help. The training of college-level teachers should be continued.

Dear educational colleagues, as you know, you have the moral support of His Excellency Al-Hadj Hissein Habre, president of Chad, chief of state, founding president of our unity movement, the UNIR, and also the support of the government of the Third Republic and the UNIR central committee, which moreover has just decided to upgrade the teaching function, as this career at present is not sufficiently attractive. The government is trying to remedy the problems of education.

Dear school patrons and teaching colleagues, if it appears that we did well in the 1984-1985 school year, this has been because of the opportunities for stimulating exchanges, and for international cooperation which has played a central role in that regard. Thanks to the EFD [European Development Fund], the French Aid and Cooperation Fund [FAC], the UNDP [United Nations Development Program], UNESCO, UNICEF, WFP [World Food Program], the embassy of the Republic of Egypt, the U.S. embassy, the West German embassy, Swiss cooperation, SWISSAID, CONFEMEN, and CONFEJES [expansion unknown], we have been able to carry out certain projects. We say long live international cooperation!

Finally, to you, dear students, I ask you to consider school not as a place for amusement or profligacy, but rather a center for preparation for your future life, a center where you can express yourselves fully and blossom.

9516

CSO : 3419/43

CHAD

LOCAL MARKETS DESCRIBED

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 1 Oct 85 pp 7-9

[Article: "Outlying Markets: Dear, But Worth the Trip"]

[Text] The capital of Ndjamena, like our country's other large centers, is going through a splendid period at this time, near the end of the rainy season.

If the housewife cannot yet get a bargain on a beautiful Chari carp to fry in her pan now that the garau which was invading the markets is slowly disappearing, one has only to wait for the waters to recede. This is not the case for some agricultural products.

After so many years of drought and famine, nature has relented somewhat this year. Cucumbers, peanuts, corn, sugarcane etc., are taking the markets and sides of the streets by storm, making everybody happy. This fresh produce to which we are accustomed at this season has been lacking for years on end, and its abundance this year seems to augur well.

Each morning, from the various roads leading from the country to the capital, light trucks crammed to the very top of their rails, and cyclists slogging it out on their bicycle pedals carrying full sacks, all converge in the direction of the thronged markets where people shove each other to be the first one served, knowing all the time that there will be enough for the next person.

But at the end of the week, especially on Sunday, Ndjamenians do not want to wait for street vendors to bring them what they need. Astride their motorbikes (the wife riding on the back seat, they have no thought of bringing a kid back) or at the wheel of their vehicles, they take the road for Linia, Massaguet, Koundoul etc. Here the "RT...AP" plates are all mixed up with the "TCB" and other license plate numbers. But it must be acknowledged that not everyone makes the trip to buy provisions. Curiosity and simply the desire for a change of air put citydwellers on the road to the country. However, they can kill two birds with one stone.

But does buying in Koundoul on Sunday, for example, keep the Ndjamenian from paying skyhigh city prices? Nothing could be further from the truth. However, judge for yourself.

A goat about 6 months old goes for Fr 4,000 there. For a sheep, the price varies from Fr 6,500 to 12,000 or 15,000. A rooster about 1 kilo in weight comes to Fr 1,300. Don't take the chance, if you have come from Ndjamena to buy butcher's meat in this area. You'll get nothing for your pains. Anyway, the advertised price soon changes your mind.

In the livestock market especially, speculation is more pervasive than elsewhere.

In fact, after 9 am, it is the middlemen who offer you what you are looking for rather than the owners. Arriving from Ndjamena very early, they seldom pay high prices for the livestock offered on the market; Fr 2,500 to Fr 4,000. The same product is then offered at twice or even three times the price to those who thought it necessary to sleep in. This trick has not gone unnoticed by some of the slick operators of the place who have joined the game. Thus a sheep can change owners two or three times at the same market and double its price without having grown an ounce fatter. Quite the contrary.

For connoisseurs, the solution is simple: one goes very early and takes up a position on one of the roads leading from the surrounding villages to the Koundoul market. The discussion with the owner who had a particular piece of merchandise in mind when he brought his animal to the market is quickly and finally concluded; unless one wishes to return to Ndjamena where many think that livestock is cheaper.

Fresh or smoked fish is no less expensive than in the capital's markets; unless again one goes early.

Since demand is greater, a sack of charcoal goes for over Fr 1,000 (from Fr 1,200 to Fr 1,500). During the week, one can get it only by offering a bill [value unknown].

Other seasonal products are not available free, no doubt, but can be bought at more reasonable prices.

They are characterized sometimes by the fact that they are both perishable and abundant: peanuts, gombo, cucumbers etc. But what quantities make it worthwhile going after if one is not in the resale business?

So, is Koundoul just as expensive as Ndjamena? For Sundays, one can answer "yes" without fear of being mistaken. More than 100

vehicles--light trucks, and luxury cars--are parked that day on both sides of the road going through the village that has the privilege of being the site of a military instruction center.

The "wealthy people" from the city come to this village only once a week and the new hospitality, unfortunately, requires nevertheless that a profit be made. In any case, one thinks, the deal is freely concluded. There is neither theft nor cheating.

Another reason why Koundoul is so expensive is that the good rainy season our country enjoys did not benefit this area. There was not the same amount of rainfall in Koundoul and in Malo as there was in Etena only 7 km away, or in Toukra 3 km away on the Ndjamena road. The fields around the village show a Sahelian aspect in times of drought; fields burnt by the sun, no grass. The sight is so unusual this year, as one can quite readily say, that one could think a spell had been cast here. The inhabitants collected contributions in August to offer sacrifices to God, but nature was not kind.

The CBLT (Lake Chad Basin Commission) areas of Malo nearer the shores of the Logone and Koundoul along the Chari have experienced complete crop failure. During September, the Koundoul experimental center received a motor driven pump and a vehicle. Had it arrived sooner, the motor driven pump would certainly have lessened the effects of the lack of rainfall. Too bad! But the man responsible for the CBLT areas of Malo and Koundoul, Laougama Waidi, hopes to do something for these people whose labors have gone without recompense. He plans to establish an off-season growing program immediately, and on 29 September held a meeting in Koundoul with his assistants from the two areas. This will require financial backing and it seems that such a program does not include the CBLT authorities in Maroua for the time being.

But while waiting for this project to be carried out, making life less expensive for the inhabitants of Koundoul and their weekly visitors, people will simply have to be satisfied with what comes from the neighboring villages.

As for the capital, it has the advantage of receiving provisions from suppliers from many other areas, which makes the trip to Koundoul mainly a tourist excursion. ATP [CHAD PRESS AGENCY].

9824

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CHAD

BRIEFS

DROUGHT IMPACT ON MELFI--Despite the abundance of rain recorded throughout the country this year, some prefectures continue to suffer from the drought. Such is the case in Guera where 10,000 people and more than 23 villages are threatened with famine in the Melfi subprefecture. This critical situation resulted in visits by the area's administrative authorities. On 1 October, the prefect for Guera, Daoud Kinefour, personally went to Melfi to verify the situation. Kinefour was accompanied by representatives from the Red Cross League of Societies, the World Food Program (WFP), and by the section head of the National Office for Rural Development. According to information received on location, the rain stopped abruptly at the end of August, resulting in the destruction of the young plants. The farmers will not harvest any grain in this subprefecture. Famine is already taking hold at the end of the rainy season. According to our correspondent in Mongo, 200 tons of foodstuffs are being shipped to the stricken area in the meantime, awaiting the intervention of the competent organizations. As in the past, the Guera authorities are again drawing the attention of the international community to the need for more aid to cope with the famine. (ATP). [CHAD PRESS AGENCY]. [Text] [Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 7 Oct 85 p 4] 9824

CSO: 3419/45

DJIBOUTI

PROGRESS ON 'UNITY HIGHWAY' REPORTED

Djibouti LA NATION in French 19 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Wednesday 11 September 1985: a date which will be engraved in the history of monumental social and economic projects undertaken in this country. The "unity highway": people were talking about it even when they could not yet see to the end of the tunnel, so to speak.

Being built at an overall cost of about 5.3 billion Djibouti francs, this road linking the southern and northern parts of our country will be 132 km long. After tenders were solicited internationally, the construction contract was awarded to a Yugoslav company, Union Engineering. The initial work of clearing the roadway started 8 months ago. Precisely on 23 February 1985 President Hassan Gouled Aptidon officially launched the project by performing the groundbreaking ritual for this road which is a symbol of national unity.

Last week the president betook himself to kilometer point 52 (PK-52) to see how far the work has advanced. PK-52 is the starting point of the "unity highway." It is a kind of central hub. Located 52 kilometers from the zero point on the right side of National 1 linking Djibouti and Galafi, the construction camp sits at the mouth of Ghoubet-El-Kharab. Located about a mile from the sea, this camp--consisting of three worksites, one of which is under construction (the one reserved for administration and supervisory personnel)--is destined to become the nerve center of the highway.

In reality, the "unity highway," which will play a large part in reconciliation between the north and the south, will also be an important factor in developing the entire region it traverses. And PK-52, which today is nothing but a place of shelter for men and equipment, will certainly be a big tourist attraction.

Fruitful Exchange

Access to the site will be easy, since boats will be able to berth in the Ghoubet. Considering the fact that Lake Assai is not very far from PK-52, the latter will certainly be a natural place for people making road stops. But even apart from touristic attraction, there will be economic and social

benefits. For the moment, 83 out of the 114 workers at the various sites are Djiboutians. In addition to this employment bonus, there is another: trade.

Utilization of the "unity highway" will encourage the growth of increased trade between the south and north. The south will export finished products, as well as food commodities of all sorts, and import agricultural produce, especially early fruits and vegetables. Thus the living conditions of the people of the north will be improved, thanks to the growth of trade as well as reduced transport costs. Djibouti to Tadjourah in 2 hours, instead of 10; that should give Djiboutians a new lease on life!

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CS0 : 3419/30

GUINEA

VISIT OF PAIGC OFFICIAL, PRESS COMMUNIQUE REPORTED

Conakry HOROYA in French 15 Oct 85 pp 1,2

[Text] The week just ended has been dominated by the work session held at Kamsar on Saturday 12 October, in which General Joao Bernardo Vieira Nino, secretary general of the PAIGC and president of the state council of the republic of Guinea-Bissau, met with General Lansana Conte, president of the CMRN [Military Committee for National Redressment] and president of the republic of Guinea.

The second to occur within a space of 6 months, this meeting of the two heads of state fell under the program of periodical contacts arranged by the two leaders and intended to deepen and broaden friendly cooperation between the two neighboring states of Guinea, and to contribute to bringing about speedier results from the program designed to promote the welfare of the peoples of the West-African sub-region. It is a follow-up to the meeting held during the last week of September at Bissau, of the overall joint commission created by our two governments.

In this action, Kamsar, known for its dynamism and hospitality, has revealed itself as a metropolis where the kind of understanding characteristic of the leaders of the two Guineas continues to take on a new dimension likely to consolidate and develop the bonds of friendship and brotherhood woven by history between our two peoples.

The Welcome

The mechanics of the reception were flawless. The massive spontaneous gathering of people revealed on the one hand the sincere attraction they feel for the CMRN program, and on the other hand the excellent relations that exist between Bissau and Conakry. This relationship was once again made manifest on Saturday, 12 October.

Over and above the traditional formulas of welcome, the interim provincial governor, Mr Saliou Fofana, made the following statement: "No word can precisely express all that the peoples of this province feel when they receive you in this part of the country, both you, President Lansana Conte and your brother in the struggle, President Nino."

Working together yesterday in the victorious fight for independence, the two heads of state had met for the first time under more trying conditions. The

MADAGASCAR

LIBYA GIVES ARABIC LANGUAGE CERTIFICATES TO STUDENTS

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 6 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] (ANTA)--Mr Assoumany, director of planning in the Ministry of Secondary and Basic Education, and Salem Ali Salem Dannah, first official at the People's Bureau of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, handed out certificates yesterday to the some 13 students who have successfully completed the Arabic language courses taught at the Libyan Arab Cultural Center.

This was the first graduating class, and it had been taking Arabic language courses at the Libyan Arab Cultural Center for 3 years.

Salem Ali Salem Dannah said it was a great honor for the Libyans to see Malagasy learning Arabic--a language that has left its mark on Arab and African civilization. Speaking a foreign language means opening up new horizons for the good of humanity, he said. These 13 Malagasy who speak Arabic will be the messengers strengthening friendship and cordiality between Libya and Madagascar, he added. And Salem thanked the Ministry of Secondary and Basic Education for its participation in the teaching of Arabic in Madagascar. He emphasized that Arabic is indeed an African language.

Salem recommended that the 13 students read Arabic books. Director of Planning Assoumany began by apologizing for the absence of Voantio Tsifanahy, secretary general of the Ministry of Secondary and Basic Education, who was to have presided over the ceremony. Assoumany said that the teaching of a foreign language plays a big role in the Malagasy education system. He said: "You are the first in Madagascar to learn the Arabic language, which is spoken in Africa and which will develop the solidarity of Africans."

Assoumany also mentioned the presence of Arabic in algebra, for example, and the consequent need to know that language. Assoumany conveyed the thanks of the Ministry of Secondary and Basic Education for the help received in teaching that foreign language, which is also an international language.

For his part, Bashir Hasand Taher, director of the Libyan Arab Cultural Center, congratulated the 13 students on their courage and efforts during their studies. Bashir also said that the Democratic Republic of Madagascar has good relations with the Arab and African countries. He added that the

Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has steadily increased its aid to friendly countries because it is part of Africa. Bashir Masand Tahir also said that other graduating classes will be prepared at the Libyan Arab Cultural Center.

A student representative thanked the various Libyan and Malagasy officials who had been instrumental in bring Arabic language courses to Madagascar.

She said: "Knowledge of this language will enable us to strengthen the ties of friendship between the Arab and Malagasy peoples."

The distribution of prizes to the 13 graduates concluded yesterday's ceremony at the Libyan Arab Cultural Center.

We note that the members of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau were all present for the awarding of certificates.

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understanding which necessarily results from reciprocal acquaintance has meanwhile therefore been established between them. It is only rarely that nations and peoples find themselves in such conditions of close and productive bilateral cooperation.

As successor to the interim governor of the province, President Lansana Conte, after in turn welcoming President Nino, congratulated the people of Boke, whose welcome he termed beautiful and gratifying. The people are of sound health, he said. On the other hand, the Guinean administrative officials in Kamsar, particularly those who are responsible for the operation of the joint CBG [Guinea Bauxite Company], do not always apply the program of change put in place by the CMRN.

In fact, it is no secret to anyone that in order to achieve the CMRN program, all racist or tribal behavior must cease, and Guineans, whether abroad or at home, must unite and set to work. Everyone must act so as to strengthen national harmony and maintain stability and social calm.

The head of state commented that no administrator should consider himself indispensable; he then invited all administrative staff members to work toward the rapid accomplishment of the goals set for the CBG within the overall plan for fostering the well-being of the Guinean people.

The significance of these two messages was more fully highlighted by President Nino, who at the moment of departure thanked President Lansana Conte and the people of Kamsar, mentioning that the friendship that he bears towards Guinea-Conakry is that of a son for his fatherland. In this way--and not for the first time--President Nino confirmed that Guinea-Conakry is his second fatherland. After reminiscing about the early childhood years he spent here, President Nino emphasized that all the conditions are favorable for the development of cooperation between the two Guineas.

Below we give the text of the press communique which ratified the talks between the two heads of state.

Press Communique

Within the overall program of regular discussion sessions and the quickening of the relationships of sincere friendship and brotherly cooperation existing between the republic of Guinea-Bissau and the republic of Guinea, together with the necessary reinforcement of the political and moral unity of the African peoples, his excellency, General Joao Bernardo Vieira, secretary general of PAIGC and president of the state council of the republic of Guinea-Bissau, met with his excellency, General Lansana Conte, president of the CMRN and president of the republic of Guinea, at Kamsar (republic of Guinea), on Saturday 12 October 1985.

The two heads of state expressed their appreciation of the excellence of their fraternal relations and brought out the need to imbue them with new dimensions in an endeavor to make fast the foundations of the collective well-being of their two peoples.

To this end, the two heads of state encouraged one another with the results of the workings of the third session of the overall joint commission of cooperation between the two countries, held in Bissau from 23 to 26 September 1985.

Taking up various African questions, the two heads of state renewed their unconditional support and their solidarity in matters concerning the African peoples engaged in a struggle for independence, and insisted on the increase of aid aimed at hastening the process of decolonization.

The two heads of state most vehemently condemned the repeated acts of aggression perpetrated against the countries on the front line, particularly the recent aggression of the Pretoria racists against the People's Republic of Angola.

In other matters, the two heads of state brought out the necessity of strengthening the collective security of African nations, insofar as this is one of the guarantees intended to ensure the balanced and harmonious development of the African nations.

In this perspective, the two heads of state denounced and condemned the recent Zionist aggression against Tunisia's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and reaffirmed their solidarity with the PLO and with their Tunisian brothers.

On the international level, the two leaders deemed it necessary to work toward strengthening the unity of action of African nations in the defense of their interests, faced as they are with the growing deterioration of exchange terms, which are not calculated to encourage their national bursts of development.

In this respect, they encourage the promotion and the broadening of inter-African cooperation, which secures the foundations of their interdependent destiny.

In this perspective, the two leaders believe that the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Organization offers a fortunate opportunity to the African nations and to all developing countries, to sensitize international opinion on the danger to peace and international security represented by the ever-widening gap between the affluent nations and the developing nations.

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MADAGASCAR

WEST GERMAN COOPERATION PROJECTS IN NORTHWEST OUTLINED

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 21 Sep 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by Arsene Kalaimihoatra]

[Text] SOTIMA [Majunga Textile Company] is not the only result of cooperation between Madagascar and the FRG in Mahajanga Province. There are projects here that are in full swing and whose socioeconomic effects are beginning to make themselves felt. They include the fight against bilharziasis, the rehabilitation of ricegrowing on the Basse-Betsiboka plains (the well-known "FIFABE" operation in Narovoay), integrated rural development in the Port-Berge region, and the operation known as "Encouragement of Animal Production" in Miadana, which was visited recently by participants in the international seminar on stockraising that was sponsored by the Malagasy Academy.

That cooperation was described yesterday by the chairman of the Executive Committee of Mahajanga Province himself, Koussay Said Ali, as "direct and without middlemen." That is no doubt what makes its implementation not only rapid in time but also one of the most efficient in form. Moreover, the part played by the Malagasy themselves in helping complete the operation leads one to predict that it will continue after West German technical assistance has ended.

But it is also necessary to be aware now of the need to provide those operations with a suitable operating budget later so as to avoid total failure like that affecting the integrated rural development project in Tsarahasina (in Mahajanga) or the Vinaninkarena Youth Village (in Antsirabe), which were total fiascos following the departure of "Rainiboto" due to the lack of a good policy for work and management.

In any case, as far as West German-Malagasy cooperation in Mahajanga Province is concerned, the number one man in the provincial government is pleased with the current "vitality" of that cooperation. What is more, he hopes that it will spread to other areas of activity. The supplying of equipment for navigation between Katsepy and Mahajanga, for example, was recently the subject of a serious discussion between Koussay Said Ali and the West German ambassador to Madagascar, Karl Heinz Rouette.

Impact

To get back to the current projects, a visit to the site of each of them this week enabled us to get an idea of the socioeconomic impact they might have on the lives of the inhabitants concerned. Although they are being carried out in varying ways, the objective in view remains the rational development of agricultural production (especially rice production in the specific region in question). It is a big job, considering the importance of that product in the lives of the Malagasy and even in the context of the national economy. Besides, Marovoay is Madagascar's largest rice granary after the Alaotra region. The potential in the Port-Berge region is also not inconsiderable. So nothing could have been more natural than for the government to try by every means to promote rice production--an activity vital to Madagascar.

In Mahajanga Province, the technical aspects of that effort have received financial support from the KFW [Reconstruction Credit Bank], a West German bank, in the form of a loan totaling 20.1 million Deutsche marks (the equivalent of over 4,221 million Malagasy francs) and of grants totaling 12.7 million Deutsche marks (over 2,667 million Malagasy francs). But the operation in itself cannot be successful without suitable physical conditions.

Handicap

The fact is that in this case, bilharziasis, that disease which--to use Koussay Said Ali's expression--has "sapped" the region for decades, constitutes a serious handicap for the population in that part of Madagascar, where urinary bilharziasis in particular strikes adults and children. Once infected, a peasant is in great pain and can scarcely walk, so there is no question of his carrying on his daily activities, especially fieldwork--and that means fewer hands!

A vast awareness campaign is essential, and one is currently underway in Mahajanga, Marovoay, and Port-Berge. There are even localities where entire villages are now being treated because everyone is infected with that terrible disease, whose symptoms include blood in the urine, great weakness, and so on.

The West German Cooperation Office (GTZ) has made available to the government a grant of 5.5 million Deutsche marks (over 1.5 billion Malagasy francs) for the purpose, if not of checking that scourge, then at least of reducing the number of its victims considerably.

Bilharziasis requires a long-term program of health information and rapid radical treatment that has proven its value in other African countries as well as in Asia and Latin America. But relapses are always possible without large-scale general programs to make people aware of the most basic rules of hygiene. In Port-Berge and Marovoay, the inhabitants (not all of them for the moment) are becoming increasingly aware of this. We will discuss this again.

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MADAGASCAR

CHINESE BOOK EXHIBITION OPENS

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 19 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Article by N. R.]

[Text] Justin Rakotonirainy of the Supreme Revolutionary Council had a preview showing yesterday of an exhibit of Chinese books and publications. He was accompanied by Georges Ruphin, minister of civil service and social law; Simon Pierre, minister of information, ideological guidance, and cooperatives; Randriananja Charles, deputy chairman of the ANP [National People's Assembly]; Henri Ramilison and Maurice Ramarozaka, both secretaries general of ministries; Zao Changgen, acting charge d'affaires of the PRC; and many heads of diplomatic missions and well-known figures from everywhere who are friendly to China.

Sponsored jointly by the Ministry of Culture and Revolutionary Art, the Embassy of the PRC, and the Chinese Company for the International Book Trade (SCCIL), this exhibit and book fair, which will be open until 24 September on the ground floor of the National Library in Anosy, is intended to mark the 35th anniversary of the SCCIL. Established in 1949, that official agency for the publication, sale, and distribution of Chinese books cooperates with all book professionals on the planet with a view to promoting cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world. It participates in the biggest annual book fairs on the globe. Since its establishment, the SCCIL has distributed several hundred million Chinese books and periodicals in nearly 180 countries. This company, which publishes in 30 languages, is responsible for the publication of a number of periodicals known in Madagascar, examples being the illustrated monthly LA CHINE EN CONSTRUCTION and the weekly BEIJING INFORMATIONS.

The bulk of the items exhibited consists of some 600 books, illustrated albums, periodicals and publications of all kinds, but considerable space has also been devoted to the works of the PRC's best artists. Hanging on the walls and arranged on shelves, one will find engravings, xylographic reproductions, first-rate pictorial works, paintings in rice straw or wheat, finely worked bookmarks (ribbons used to mark one's place in a book), and so on. The highly varied publications include remarkably illustrated children's books as well as the austere doctrinal essays of Mao, Deng Xiao-ping, Marx,

and Lenin. The visitor will pay particular attention to the current bestsellers in the PRC, examples being "The Storm" (a tragedy by Cao Yu), "Life in a Million Colors" (a more cheerful novel by Jiang Zilong), or "Autumn in Springtime" (a collection of short stories by Ba Jing). In short, this is a quite exhaustive exhibit of the effervescent literary and artistic creativeness that enlivens China today.

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MOZAMBIQUE

PATEQUE FAMILIES REBUILD AFTER LIBERATION

Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 7 Oct 85 pp 8-9

[Article by A. Chiure and I. Siteo: "The People are Producing and Rebuilding the Destroyed Infrastructure"]

[Text] Pateque, a town about 35 km from the nation's capital, where peace has been restored by Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM) and People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM) in the current military offensive, is struggling today to restore life to normal for its 400-plus families. Pateque is in the Manhica District, well-known throughout Maputo Province for armed bandit activities.

After Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) was driven out of the town, provincial Party authorities drew up a plan of action to be put into effect in the town that included two important tasks: rehabilitating agriculture and rebuilding the infrastructure by the enemy.

Prior to the implementation phase, the masses were mobilized into village commune organizations to stimulate collective food production to combat hunger.

Responding to this effort, on 15 August, the people started building a village named Machovane, which had 450 families.

Housing construction is proceeding and work is now in a rather advanced phase, although we have not ascertained the number of finished units.

Work is progressing under the supervision of a brigade from the Provincial Party Mobilization Department, which had been set up earlier.

Fernando Dimande, mayor of the town under construction, told our reporters that one of the main problems which must be overcome is the reluctance of some people to join the village communes, indicating their poor understanding of the advantages of doing so.

He added that the mobilization effort is still in progress, and that it involves not only the provincial Party brigade, but also local government authorities and members of Democratic Mass Organizations (ODM).

It is important to stress that even in the area of rebuilding the infrastructure, Mozambican women are making a contribution in Pateque: they are helping cut stakes, lacalacas [translation unknown], and making bricks from malope [translation unknown] and sand.

At the same time, Machovane already had a consumers' coop, a clinic, and a four-year primary school. The school has 157 pupils this year, taught by two teachers.

The agricultural production program got under way with the founding of a two-hectare coop. Its present 18 members raise vegetables, including tomatoes, lettuce, kale, cabbage, etc. They also grow sweet potatoes and bananas.

DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE has learned that this farming coop has already deposited 100 contos in the bank, which it earned selling vegetables.

The village mayor said that these funds will be used to purchase production equipment: hoes, axes, irrigation pumps and a yoke of oxen.

At the moment in Machovane, every member of the coop is working with his own means of production.

Fernando Dimande, without mentioning the tons of crops produced in the last harvest, also said that production levels were satisfactory, since the yield exceeded the coop members' needs.

Large amounts of tomatoes, cabbage, lettuce and onions were sold to employees of the Martins de Azevedo Herdeiros Company and residents from the surrounding area.

At the same time, drilling for water is underway in Pateque in order to resolve the shortage of drinking water for the people.

Another project to be undertaken involves enlarging the classrooms at the existing primary school in Machovane with the assistance of education officials and the pupils' parents.

The consumers' coop mentioned earlier will also contribute to this effort.

Malaria, Scabies in Pateque

Machovane, a communal village under construction, has a clinic which is used not only by the villagers, but also by the employees of the Martins de Azevedo Herdeiros Company.

Explaining its operations, Fernando Dimande, the mayor of Machovane, complained about the lack of medicine, a phenomenon which, incidentally, is a national problem. The clinic, equipped with minimum working supplies, is staffed by one technician.

This staff member has been giving village health and hygiene lectures and counseling mothers on how to protect their children's health and clean latrines.

Our reporters learned that the most common diseases in Pateque are malaria and scabies. There have also been patients with malnutrition problems and tuberculosis.

Youth Prepare for Conference

Youth from Pateque in Maputo Province are now holding a meeting to study the theses of the Second National Conference of the Mozambique Youth Organization (OJM) to be held in the nation's capital in early 1986.

Issues were discussed at the meeting which are inherent to the problems of early marriage, dowries, and youthful heads of families, either because they are the oldest member of the family or other reasons.

It should be pointed out that in their spare time, Pateque youth cut stakes and "lacalacas [translation unknown] to enlarge the classrooms at the elementary school.

Education officials and the parents of the 157 pupils attending the school are working together.

In addition to these efforts toward rebuilding the infrastructure destroyed by armed bandits in Pateque, work is under way to organize the people to defend the village.

This work involves efforts to promote political and military training courses in order to train local forces. A number of men have already been trained.

Local women are also taking part in this effort, particularly in keeping watch and reporting enemy attempts to infiltrate into Pateque.

In addition, local authorities assign different militia teams every day to patrol the area to ensure the village's safety.

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MOZAMBIQUE

HOLLAND STUDIES COCONUT PLANT RENOVATION

Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 25 Sep 85 pp 8-9

[Article by Isaac Alfandega: "Shredded Coconut Produced Domestically: When Will it be at the Markets?"]

[Text] Why has shredded coconut virtually disappeared from the domestic market when it is common knowledge that our country has the world's third-largest coconut shredding industry after Sri Lanka and the Philippines? Is it because of harvesting problems, difficulties in the distribution network that prevent the product from being made available to consumers or does it have to do with export quotas? Is there a plausible explanation of this matter of concern to millions of Mozambicans who are without cooking oil or soap when they know that our country has more coconut palms than anyone else in the world? Or now that we think of it, could it be due to inaction on the part of someone in charge who is shafting the people?

These are some of the many questions which our readers are asking, especially when they are walking along the street, standing on a corner or sitting in a bar with a reporter, whom they erroneously take for a judge when he is only a simple investigator or storyteller, albeit in a high-visibility position in the class struggle.

The DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Zambezia, having travelled to this key location in the interest of its readers' concerns, obtained some information about the matter which was initially worrisome: the SOCOCO plant could operate only two more years without an overhaul, since its industrial machinery is prematurely worn out.

The good news is that SOCOCO Manager Cassam Gulan Hussein (Biriba) announced that the situation is under control now that Mozambique and Holland, two fraternal countries, have just agreed to study the feasibility of renovating and re-equipping the plant.

The project, of course, is intended to restore production to ensure supplies to domestic and foreign markets, to improve the people's diet in the first case and to earn foreign currency needed by the State in the second case.

However, the signing of a protocol under which Holland will award the job to a project coordinator is still being awaited.

The proposal to renovate SOCOCO came to fruition in June of 1984 after a visit by a delegation from the Dutch company GEMIMEX was followed by a visit of the Dutch Minister of Cooperation to Mozambique.

A later study was also done by a British consulting company, AGMMARK, which specifically focused on the feasibility of renovation. Its results will be made available to the Dutch government, which is coordinating the project.

"Ten years is the maximum service life for this type of industrial equipment. After that point, if parts are not serviced or replaced, it begins to wear out, and that is what's happening at the plant," said SOCOCO's Quelimane manager, Cassan Gulam Hussein.

Mr Hussein said that the situation came to light after the previous owners fled, who knew when they left in 1972 that the plant had never had a major overhaul.

"The normal service life of our steam equipment, for example, is five years, which means that at that point, we have to service it," Hussein added.

Of the six driers at the plant, only three are in service at the moment. The other three are shut down for lack of parts.

In the packing department, where the shredded coconut is also screened, there are further bottlenecks. In addition to the fact that only one screen is working, there is no superfine screen, which has always been imported from South Africa.

Neither is there an inside water treatment tank. Water has to be re-treated because the required amount of chlorine is not always added.

As a matter of fact, lab tests show that the finished product is contaminated by poor-quality water. This is a simple problem, to be sure, but given the difficulties of purchasing parts, little or nothing can be done.

Processing is an interesting aspect for any visitor to SOCOCO [text garbled]. The first area the visitor sees is the husking department, where each of 18 workers meets a quota of 1,700 to 2,000 coconuts a day. It is hard work and sweat pours from the men, working without uniforms and wielding huskers without a break.

Already, the visitor begins to notice some of the basic problems facing the company. For instance, there are no trucks to bring raw materials to the plant.

SOCOCO has no facilities for going into the interior of the plantation and collecting coconuts. As a solution, it leases trucks whose owners charge 70 centavos a coconut.

Alique Sale, a model employee and one of the highest in seniority with 12 years of service, did not hide from our reporter problems like the lack of food and uniforms on the job, which are non-existent.

"We sent a letter to Domestic Trade, but the problem is the shortage of cloth and boots on the market, so that's why things are like this," explained Paulo Guerreiro, local party cell secretary.

After husking, the coconuts go into special bins and are taken to the peeling department. In this department, each worker has a 600-coconut quota. Some manage to average 900 a day. The problem of uniforms and boots arises again. Boots are indispensable here because the flooring is quite slippery. In addition, there are certain hygiene requirements.

Next is the dressing department, where the men use their own knives to peel the membrane away, leaving only the white meat. This is another job which calls for special skill. For this reason, experienced women were hired this year for the first time.

Initial results indicate that the women will be excellent workers, better than men, because in dressing they shave more off the membrane, yielding some surplus for sale to GERALCO in Zambezia, Mocambique Industrial in Beira and FASOL in Maputo for making oil and soap.

It should be pointed out that SOCOCO can pick 10 to 15 metric tons of coconuts a day for the Beira plant, since transportation facilities are available.

From the dressing department, the coconut goes directly to the washing department. It was originally washed at 90°C, but now it is normally washed at 60°C, "because the boilers are old."

The coconut is washed several times in this department, in hot and cold tanks, and from there it goes to fine and coarse shredders, after which it is dried and packed. Finally, the coconut is weighed, checked against the label, inspected and bagged. Samples are taken for analysis at labs in Quelimane or Maputo.

Two Faces of SOCOCO

SOCOCO, a company which produces shredded coconut, was owned by Jose da Silva Guimaraes, a Portuguese citizen.

It was expropriated in February of 1976 when the owner left Mozambique.

The company's installed capacity is four metric tons a day with two shifts. It now operates at half capacity with a single shift.

The company's greatest production was reached in 1984-1985, when few material resources were available.

When operating at capacity, SOCOCO supplies shredded coconut to the central, southern and northern provinces and exports coconut to South Africa, Portugal and Angola.

8844/12851

CSO: 3442/26

MOZAMBIQUE

AGRICULTURE, TRADE, TRANSPORT PRIORITIES IN GORONGOSA

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Among the smiles of the children who continue to be absorbed in their games and the humming of the women who help the men carry bundles of grass and pickets to rebuild their houses, more than 5,000 people have now freely begun a new life in the community of Machaze, alongside the Mucoza River, 12 km from the village of Gorongosa. Approximately another 2,500 peasants are (until 29 September 1985) at the 3 February Transit Center awaiting definite settlement in another area of that district. We are speaking of men, women and children, all of tattered and miserable appearance but whose faces contain an expression of gaiety and hope for a better future after having been released from the clutches of armed banditry. There are thousands upon thousands of rural families flowing daily into Machaze and the Transit Center, coming from different areas formerly under the control of the malefactors whose principal camp, designated as "Casa Banana", was attacked and occupied by our armed forces on 28 August in an operation which was aided by units of the Zimbabwe Army. As they arrive, after the formalities of identification, the people recently redeemed from the criminal gang in the sierra of the Gorongosa are affectionately welcomed and processed by party and state organizations established for that purpose. They immediately receive clothing, soap, food, medicine, agricultural tools, such as hoes, axes, scythes, and machetes, and seeds to begin anew their agricultural production in a vast program of support aimed at reestablishing social and economic life in Gorongosa District. They are men and women, each with a story to tell about his or her stay with the armed bandits, whether by force or not.

The establishment of conditions whereby the recently released people may promptly begin agricultural production as a way of being self-sufficient over the short term is the highest priority item in the series of support measures now underway in Gorongosa District.

Until 9 September, the district's storage facilities contained about [figure illegible] tons of seeds for the first crop, consisting of corn and "mapira", expected to be completely sown by the end of this month.

The remaining crops for the second season, such as beans, peanuts, sunflower seeds, and others will be distributed to the people by the end of December.

According to a plan drawn up by the agricultural commission working in Gorongosa, each family was given one hectare of land to be used for all crops, varying the crops on a rotational basis.

Simultaneously with the distribution of seeds, each family received the appropriate agricultural implements. Thus, by the last week of September, the people recently released from the armed bandits received 2,500 hoes, 400 machetes, and 400 axes.

Throughout last week, distribution was to be made of the rest of the agricultural implements in order to enable the people to begin food production immediately.

By the middle of this month, about 10,000 people are to be definitely settled in two areas of the Gorongosa District.

Over the immediate term, the people recently released will devote themselves to family-type agriculture in order to rapidly become self-sufficient.

Gradually, as life among the peasants becomes more normal, the agricultural officials will create conditions whereby the agricultural activity may be carried on in a collective manner without, however, stifling family initiative of an individual nature.

Building for the Future

Although we are faced with an emergency situation, the construction of the houses of the people recently released from the armed gangs is being done in an orderly manner, considering the growth of these new communities within the framework of the overall development of Gorongosa.

For this purpose, experts connected with the construction and water sectors have been directing the construction of the houses of the recently released people in order to assure that the new complexes will fit in with the physical planning drawn up for the development of that area.

Orderly work procedures do not apply only to the construction of the houses; they also include the distribution of land for agricultural production. In this connection, earth-moving equipment is to be used to level the areas set aside for agricultural production, just as in the case of housing construction and the laying out of the principal streets of these new rural communities.

The work involved in constructing dwellings for families that were living as captives of the armed criminals is being carried out by groups, including the support of people who were not affected by enemy action.

Organized in teams, the inhabitants of the headquarters of Gorongosa District contribute entire days of voluntary work in support of their compatriots. They help in cutting the grass and pickets and even lend or offer the use of certain working tools or kitchen utensils, such as pots, grain-crushing gadgets, and others.

We see here the initiative and attitude which have always characterized the spirit of solidarity of the Mozambican people, as has always occurred when it was necessary to support those who were in dire straits.

They Covered Themselves with Tree Bark

The more than 7,000 peasants--men, women, and children--who, until the last week of last month poured into Machaze and the 3 February Transit Center, wore tree bark on their bodies: their only piece of clothing. In the concrete case of the children, the vast majority were completely deprived of any material to put on their body--not even the tree bark worn by their parents.

This picture which confronted us in Gorongosa shows the extremely miserable and inhuman conditions in which thousands upon thousands of Mozambicans lived forcibly or not among the troops of the armed gangs.

Aware of this serious situation and working through the central committee which is already active in Gorongosa, the Provincial Department for the Prevention and Combat of Natural Calamities and other humanitarian organizations initiated the sending of clothing to alleviate the situation.

As soon as the bundles of clothing arrived at district headquarters, they were immediately sent to the reception centers set up for those in need. It is impossible to describe the emotion and happiness that was expressed each time clothing was distributed. Men and women, young and old, with each gesture of extending their hand to receive a pair of pants, a skirt, a shirt or a blouse, radiated in their faces an expression that only human intuition and the circumstances of the moment could hope to interpret and understand.

The fact is that many of us cannot imagine, from one day to the next, what it is to have a pair of pants or a shirt, a blouse or a dress after an entire life of primitive living. We are faced with a harsh reality brought on by a war which has been going on for more than two decades. They are pages of our history, good or bad.

Health and Education

Health and education are other priority areas in the emergency aid program designed to help the people who endured a period of captivity among the enemies of our freedom and independence.

Massive vaccination programs are already underway to prevent or reduce to a minimum any outbreaks of epidemics, given the extremely precarious sanitary state in which the recently released people arrived.

According to what we were told by Changamira Almeida, one of the first nurses who received the recently liberated people in Machaze, there are many cases of malaria, sores, schistosomiasis (distended belly), and other problems related to hunger and malnutrition.

To improve this situation, the Provincial Directorate of Health in Sofala immediately sent huge shipments of various medicines. An extensive campaign of vaccinations and other treatments is underway, covering all those who need to be rehabilitated.

Simultaneously, employees from the Ministry of Education, assigned to Gorongosa, have already begun to register children of school age, assigning them to appropriate classes and providing the necessary school books and other items.

According to information we received from one of the members of the central committee, presently headquartered in Gorongosa under the tutelage of the Council of Ministers, meetings have been held with the appropriate organizations in Maputo aimed at giving the highest priority to the people in Gorongosa.

Inasmuch as some schools were destroyed by the armed gangs, efforts are already underway to make sure that all children of school age will have a place to continue their studies next year. The new classrooms will be constructed on the basis of existing local funds.

Trade and Transportation

The realization of this vast program aimed at restoring social and economic life in Gorongosa is intimately associated with the rapid reestablishment of the trade and highway transportation networks, including the restoration of access routes.

The restoration of the highway access routes should be done as quickly as possible inasmuch as we are getting close to the rainy season.

In the highway transportation sector, the work of restoring good traffic conditions depends upon the opening of two sections of vital importance: the stretch between Inchope and the village of Gorongosa and the stretch from that point to "Casa Banana".

With regard to the Inchope-village of Gorongosa stretch, according to information provided locally, the work is to be such that, even before the reconstruction of the destroyed bridges, traffic will be able to move normally, especially during the rainy period which is approaching.

From the village of Gorongosa to "Casa Banana", road restoration can include the immediate rebuilding of the destroyed bridges, using wooden logs and other material for that purpose inasmuch as most of the damaged bridges are small.

According to what we were told in Gorongosa by Lazaro Mathe, secretary of state for highway transportation, the rapid restoration of the stretch from Inchope to the district headquarters will depend on the reopening of the regular highway that connected the district with the provincial capitals of Sofala and Manica.

In addition to the restoration of the highway transportation network, there are also plans to expand the existing runways in the village of Gorongosa and "Casa Banana" to permit the landing of aircraft of medium tonnage. These planes can be used as an alternative in supplying the district during the rainy period if it is not immediately possible to rebuild the bridges destroyed by the criminal action of the armed gangs.

To coordinate all this activity designed to restore social and economic life in Gorongosa, a coordinating committee was appointed to serve as an executive branch of the central committee appointed by the Council of Ministers. This committee is being directed by Lazaro Mathe, secretary of state for highway transportation, and Francisco Masquil, secretary of state for supply.

Operating directly in Gorongosa, the coordinating committee is to be in close contact with the provincial governments of Sofala and Manica and is to employ individuals from all sectors of the district's social and economic life.

8568/9871

CS0: 3442/30

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

LICHINGA-MALAWI COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT--A cooperative for agricultural and stock-raising products is to be inaugurated in Lichinga in December. The cooperative, which will be subordinate to the Project of the 400,000 Hectares, will market its products in Malawi in exchange for which it will receive spare parts for its machinery. In the initial phase, the cooperative will be under the direct control of the Agriculture and Cattle-Raising Enterprise of Lichinga, even though subordinate to the Project of the 400,000 Hectares. Only workers in that project will be members; the project will cover the provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. According to information released by Dinis Pio, director of the Agriculture and Cattle-Raising Enterprise of Lichinga, the principal products for export will be: piri-piri [a hot pepper], garlic, ginger, and honey, all of which are produced in the districts of Lichinga, Lucheringo, Mandimba, and Cuamba. This initiative, which is in keeping with the programs of cooperation with Malawi, is aimed principally at minimizing the lack of spare parts for the agricultural sector, particularly for the Project of the 400,000 Hectares, which can be acquired with the foreign currency obtained from the sale of products in that neighboring country. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Oct 85 p 8] 8568/9871

MURRACA LANDING STRIP EXTENDED--The landing strip in Murraca, Caia District, Sofala Province, was recently extended by more than 1000 meters by the Structures, Leveling and Asphalt Building Company (CETA). Medium-sized aircraft and planes larger than those of the Air Transport and Service Enterprise (TTA) can now land. Prior to landing of craft larger than TTA planes, a joint crew from CETA and the Mozambique Air Force inspected the landing strip. Various top priority goods were flown in to the Caia District on the inaugural flight. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 5 Oct 85 p 3] 8844/12851

SOVIETS AID BEIRA FACTORY--A team of Soviet specialists has arrived in Beira to work on beginning a renovation project at the agricultural implement factory here. This information was announced yesterday to reporters in the capital of Sofala by the Maputo representative of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Alexandre G. Bourtsev. The team consists of four technicians and an interpreter. Its Beira visit is the result of a cooperative agreement between our country and the Soviet Union to produce tools to support farming in Mozambique. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 5 Oct 85 p 3] 8844/12851

CSO: 3442/26

NIGER

MINISTER DESCRIBES INVESTMENT PROGRAM, GOALS, STATUS

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 30 Sep 85 pp 4-5

[Interview with Minister Delegate for Planning Almoustapha Soumaila; date and place not given]

[Text] After presenting the 3-year investment program for 1986 through 1988 and the 1986 investment budget, Minister Delegate for Planning Almoustapha Soumaila granted an interview to the press. The questions asked him had to do in particular with the strategy of the government in the search for financing and on the desirability of planning and programming. In the view of this official, all of these efforts are oriented toward a primary goal--consolidation of financial recovery.

[Question] The financing of this budget is 6.8 percent covered by the general state budget, 52.3 percent by nonreimbursable aid, and 41.09 percent by loans. We see here that a large part of the budget is financed by nonreimbursable aid. What in fact is the strategy of the government with regard to the search for financing?

[Answer] The role played by nonreimbursable aid in the financing of investments increased from 30 billion approximately in 1985 to more than 41 billion in 1986, in other words from the 43 percent level to more than 52 percent. This simply reflects the governmental concern with taking into account the public finance situation, which does not allow us to contract for substantial foreign or domestic loans, and also the concern with consolidating financial recovery. This means reconciling resources on the general budget level and expenditures within this same budget. The debt service will come to a little more than 36 billion CFA francs for 1986. This represents a little less than 40 percent of the general budget resources. Very fortunately, we have for 3 years now been able to arrange rescheduling with our creditors.

[Question] Who are these creditors?

[Answer] They can be divided into two categories. There are the countries willing to make loans to the state of Niger, and there are the regional and multilateral bodies such as the African Development Bank and the World Bank. There are also national bodies in certain friendly countries, such as the

Central Fund and the Arab funds like the Saudi Arabian Economic Development Fund. Thus Niger has a wide range of creditors.

To answer your question fully, one must always bear in mind the need to avoid adding to the foreign debt service. This means concern with being able to maintain, consolidate and improve the financial recovery to which we have been committed for 3 years now. It is toward this that we are working with the nonreimbursable aid, representing contributions from friendly countries or bodies such as the European Development Fund, wherein a large part of the aid comes in the form of nonreimbursable funds. This has the advantage of allowing the mobilization of resources for investments, depending less on the budget income capacity with regard to the general budget, and thus the ability to make the changes in the Nigerien economy which we want to make. It should perhaps be added that nonreimbursable aid is also financing granted with priority for a certain number of sectors which in themselves do not directly give rise to resources we can channel into the general budget and thus cover foreign indebtedness. This is the case with the education, rural drinking water and health sectors.

[Question] Of the investments for 1986, 45 percent will go to the productive sectors, as compared to 37 percent in 1985. A large part of this 45 percent will go for rural development. Now this sector has for a certain time been somewhat oriented toward projects the people can master, and projects which are thus less costly. What would the explanation for this increase be?

[Answer] The explanation is to be found on two levels. First, the resources available for the projects under way are none too great in terms of the needs of our people. Therefore, within the context of these projects, we have attempted to identify those of greatest interest to the people, responding to the conditions you have noted. In some cases, we have broadened the range of project activity, in particular in the realm of reforestation, and more generally, the battle against desertification. Many farm projects have not up to the present time involved the aspect of combatting desertification as such. In view of the absolute priority we assign to food self-sufficiency, which depends on safeguarding the production potential, we came to the conclusion that all the projects designed to increase farm production should be related with the struggle against desertification, with a view to safeguarding the potential for the production involved. This required the allocation of new resources to the project. New projects were introduced in the 1986 budget, and 63 percent of the resources allocated to the productive sector will go to them. Therefore, the overall mass of resources allocated to these sectors has increased in the proportion you indicated, reaching a level of 45 percent. It would perhaps be well to explain that, taking the needs of the country and the problems the Nigerian peasants are experiencing into account, these resources are none too much for resolving these problems. It is certainly a satisfaction to note that unlike many countries, we have in 2 years been able to reorient Niger's investments in the productive sectors to an extent rarely found in other countries, since we have seen an increase from less than 38 per cent to 45 percent. In other words, there has been an increase of 7 percent in a single year, and this reflects the desire of the government to make the maximum effort in the sector regarded as having priority in the effort to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

[Question] What is the role of the new off-season crop program which will begin next October?

[Answer] Off-season crops will benefit from several sources of financing, which can be divided into four categories. The best source is the contribution of the state to the efforts being made by the territorial collectives and the people. For 1986, the state has already allocated 394 million, which is currently available on demand from the funds of the regional authorities. The second financing category is the effort of the territorial collectives themselves. The chief of state asked, in the course of the command cadres conference held in Zinder in 1985, that collective budgets be gradually reoriented, like that of the state, toward the financing of investments. In other words, the part of financing accounted for by operational costs must therefore decline. The territorial collectives are also participating in the financing of the off-season crop program. The third category of financing comes from the beneficiaries themselves. Within the framework of the development company, we are emphasizing the assumption of responsibility for their lot by the people themselves. This means that those who are to benefit from a market-gardening program should themselves participate, in various ways (physical, financial, material) in the effort to establish the program, and this is taken into account in the cost of the program in question.

The fourth and last financing category is what we call the "outside" contribution, involving funds either from a nongovernmental organization or resources allocated by international organizations, the classic lenders or the offices representing friendly countries. Overall, the off-season crop program is scheduled to benefit from a sum considerably in excess of 394 million, which represents only the state contribution.

[Question] This budget was without a doubt prepared with great care. The fact remains that implementation is often a difficult matter. Have you planned any new measures to guarantee the sensible use of these funds?

[Answer] This comes within the general framework of government policy, which involves on the one hand giving priority to a strict and serious approach to management, and on the other, a continuing effort to allocate resources which can benefit the people directly. It is this which has led the state to plan the reorientation of the major productive projects, the structure and functioning of which account for a large part of the financing made available for them.

In order to ensure proper use of the financial resources made available for the projects, it is first of all necessary to draft the project properly, so that even before the project is launched, it is possible to examine the expenditure category as well as the results expected from these expenditures. Once the project has been approved for implementation, it is particularly important to have points of reference. In other words, those responsible for the project must be able to work on the basis of a concrete operational plan, making it possible not only to compare the results obtained with the goals established for these operational plans on a continuing basis, but also to

examine the efficiency of the investments made in relation to their cost. There is of course a supervisory aspect. It is necessary to follow upon financial implementation such as to avoid any use of funds which is not oriented toward efficiency, which is the goal sought.

[Question] The 1986 investment budget represents the first budget period in the 3-year investment program for 1986 through 1988. What will be the priority sectors for this program in 1987 and 1988?

[Answer] The priority sectors for the 1986-1988 3-year program have to do with the number one goal of Niger--food self-sufficiency, food balance. This includes both production and security, that is to say the availability of foodstuffs. To achieve this, it is necessary to act directly upon production, through the appropriate investments. This will be reflected in the expansion of microproject programs, generally speaking, and those involving off-season crops in particular, as well as the expansion of farm water projects, and finally, the better drafting of livestock-breeding projects. Action upstream on the farm production line is also necessary. On this level there are men, water and real estate. Where men are concerned, their health must be protected and they must be given an opportunity for education such as to improve their productivity. With regard to the land, you know how rapidly our ecological environment is deteriorating. It is very important to stop this deterioration, and from 1986 through 1988, we will devote the necessary energy to this task. Of course, this is a long-term task, which will extend even beyond the current decade. The last point has to do with water. As you know, our surface water resources are limited, and even they are becoming uncertain. You have seen the low water level on the Niger River, you know the shrinkage of the Komadougou and Lake Chad, and that a certain number of ponds have dried up. However, we have very substantial underground water resources, which must therefore be exploited such as to make them available to the people, not only for their own needs and those of their animals, but for farm production needs as well.

These are the priority sectors, but as it is never good to depend on a single product, that is to say to be a single-crop country, it is necessary for us to broaden the production base. You are already aware of the role which uranium has played in our economic development. We must try to safeguard this role. It is also time, in the mining sector, to seek other potential sources, and a rather substantial research program is currently under way in certain regions of Niger, in particular the departments of Diffa, Agadez and Tahoua. There is also energy, a very important element in both individual and collective development. It is thus very important for us to be able to optimize capacity and, on the energy level, to be able to exploit the existing resources, in particular all of the energy to which the rural sector can have access. This means new and renewable energy sources. It is important to intensify research programs in this sector.

There is also industry. Beyond farm and mining production, it is perhaps important to develop the added value of our products. Thus they must be processed. Moreover, barely a week ago, a multidisciplinary mission traveled to the interior of the country to assess the possibility of establishing small

industries on the rural level for processing and preserving off-season crop products.

[Question] The Ministry of Planning has already developed a certain number of methodological tools for drafting programs and a budget. Now the second goal mentioned in your explanation has to do with the creation of a structure in each ministry. These structures will be designed to assist the Ministry of Planning in the programming of projects and plans. What could the concrete contribution of these bodies to the Ministry of Planning be?

[Answer] The basic purpose of this programming, and thus of the methodological tools the Ministry of Planning is developing, is to prevent day-by-day management such that in the medium time range, we can establish guidelines for the conduct and actions of the government, as well as, moreover, those of certain agencies affiliated with the public sector, in other words the parastate enterprises. This is the basic purpose of programming, which is designed to set forth what should normally be done, the means with which it should be done and the purpose, so that goals which are fixed in advance can be achieved. You will see that the activity of programming is a unique opportunity for dialogue and joint work by all of the Nigerien administrations involved, as well as the economic agents who make up the economic fabric of the country. The work of programming thus requires a certain number of factors, or in other words elements, making it possible to carry it out, and the most suitable place for the preparation of these elements is, naturally, the sectorial administrations which manage specific sectors. For these administrations daily experience the real situation in these sectors, because they follow the daily development therein and because they are indeed responsible for understanding the prospects for the development of the sector. Where the organization of our administration is concerned, it is important to prevent the burden of daily work from encroaching upon, if not canceling out, efforts involving thought, analysis and even the search for prospects. This is why we have proposed making one body responsible for analyzing the status of the various sectors, making studies and drafting programs on the basis of these studies, and following up on the drafting of projects on the basis of these programs. It is not until these projects and programs have been adopted by the government that their development can be followed. This would make an initial arbitration effort on the level of the pertinent administrations possible, such as to facilitate overall, that is to say intersectorial, arbitration on the level of the Ministry of Planning. These bodies are to be found within certain ministries, such as Health, where there is a case study and evaluation unit, and such also existed in the old Ministry of Rural Development, in which there was also a study and program office. But in most cases, these bodies are responsible for a large number of daily activities which prevent them from devoting time to their basic role.

There is also the question of training, but in this connection we have undertaken a certain number of efforts, already under way and to be pursued, in terms of seminars to which Nigerien cadres have broad access and which will be offered beginning in 1986. Their purpose is to raise all the Nigerien cadres to a certain level of understanding of the measures and the goals sought.

[Question] Is this an opportunity, Mr Minister, to explain the relationship between programming and planning?

[Answer] These are the two levels of economic management, planning being on the higher level and programming on a secondary level. Planning thus serves the purpose of drafting projections for the medium and long range, on the basis of an analysis of economic situations, and drafting development policies. Programming, for its part, interprets these development policies through specific actions in the field. It is in reality a question of two complementary tools for the management of economic activity in a given country.

[Question] What are the job prospects emerging for the year 1986?

[Answer] We have great hopes for the year 1986. This is true first of all because our main concern in 1985 has been the food problem. In view of the way the rainfall system is developing, we hope to have a satisfactory and even very good harvest as compared to that in 1984, which represented a drop of 40 percent in comparison to that in 1983. This in itself provides a very great reduction in our concern, both individually and on the national level. We can thus expect for the year 1986 that more people will be available to undertake development activities properly speaking. With regard to livestock breeding, we can also expect the reestablishment of our animal herds to begin. We can expect that in 1986 intraregional trade will be more flexible than in 1985, which will allow us to enjoy a certain fluidity in the subregional and national economic environment. In the job sector more precisely, mention should be made of the undertaking of a certain number of very important projects which are heavy manpower consumers. This is the case with the road program and certain major farm programs, such as the hydroagricultural improvements along the Magia River and in its valley. Regional projects have also been launched, such as the new Zinder project, at a cost of about 1.5 billion, the Air project in the department of Agadez, and finally, the national stadium, the estimates for which call for providing jobs for 800 individuals, which is not negligible.

But there is also the effect of the return to the land, which offers a much more certain future. We believe that some of those who have lost their jobs will turn in this direction. In 1986 an experiment will be conducted in the department of Maradi, and in the Dakoro-Mayahi zone in particular, which we call a high-intensity manpower program. Its purpose is to keep the itinerant groups in the population who usually leave during the off season in their residential zones. But to do this, it is necessary to distribute to these people the income which they leave their areas to seek. We plan to do this through compensation in kind or in cash, or a combination of both.

This type of program has already been pursued in the department of Agadez, in connection with the building of the rural roads in Air, and it achieved great success. We believe that the experiment in Dakoro-Mayahi will, if it is productive, allow us to extend the program to other regions which offer suitable conditions.

[Question] What is the allocation planned for these projects and when will they begin?

[Answer] Since this project is an experiment, we have only planned for 150 million CFA francs, out of United Nations Development Program financing. In principle, it is to be launched after the harvest, for this is the period when the people are available.

In any case, the project will be under way in 1986.

5157

CS0: 3419/32

NIGER

JAPANESE FOOD ASSISTANCE REPORTED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 9 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] An exchange of notes, signed respectively by his excellency Mr Mahamane Sani Bako, Republic of Niger minister of foreign affairs and cooperation and his excellency Mr Katsuhiro Ichioka, special plenipotentiary ambassador from Japan, took place yesterday morning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. The notes, which concerned new Japanese food assistance to Niger, were exchanged by Mr Karim Alio, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and the Japanese ambassador.

Through this arrangement, Japan is providing a subsidy of 500 million yens (5 million Y), or about 900 million (900 million CFA francs) to Niger for the purchase of 3,800 tons of Birme rice.

This gesture of active solidarity once again indicates the Japanese government's great interest in the supreme military council and Nigerian government's struggle for food self-sufficiency.

Moreover, an official ceremony to present well-drilling equipment and construction supplies worth 650 million yens (650 million Y), or about 1.2 billion CFA francs, took place the same day between his excellency Katsuhiro Ichioka, special plenipotentiary ambassador from Japan and his excellency Ataher Darkoye, minister of hydraulics and environment.

These two subsidies illustrate the excellence of the relationship of friendship and cooperation between Niger and Japan.

They raise the total of Japanese aid given to the Nigerian government since 1976 to 10 billion 675 million yens (10.675 million Y), or about 19.215 billion CFA francs.

During the ceremony presenting the well-drilling equipment and building supplies, the Japanese ambassador emphasized the importance his government attaches to the execution of this project, which is specifically directed to the basic needs of the people. To this end, he indicated, the two parties must show greater perseverance in their efforts. With this in mind, he concluded, Japan intends to intensify and diversify its cooperation with Niger, a friend of many years, in all areas.

In response to the Japanese ambassador, Attaher Darkoye, minister of hydraulics and environment, stressed the Nigerian government's appreciation of the dynamic cooperation between Japan and Niger.

Darkoye then reviewed the objectives of the "Japanese water-well" project, which consists of drilling 360 water-wells in the Niamey, Dosso and Tahoua departments. This program, which is broken up into three campaigns, is being carried out by OFEDES [Office of Sub-Soil Water], under the control of the Ministry of Hydraulics and Environment. The construction materials and equipment are supplied by the Japanese side.

Minister Attaher Darkoye indicated that this assistance was typical of the dynamic and efficient bilateral cooperation between our two countries and demonstrates the interest of the Japanese government and people in improving the quality of life of the people."

"This equipment comes at just the right time," the minister added, "for, despite the enormous efforts made, many of our regions still suffer from a lack of water. However, the universal right to water demands that we act with speed and ingenuity to exploit the potential of the deep waterbeds, so that water is available to all, everywhere, at all times."

Minister Attaher Darkoye also assured the Japanese ambassador that, despite the difficult circumstances, everything would be done so that the goals of the execution phase would be achieved within the given time frame.

9825/12947
CSO: 3419/34

NIGER

MEASURES TO RELIEVE MEAT SHORTAGE REPORTED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 9 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] There was a shortage of meat in Niamey at the beginning of the week. In the Small Market, where many housewives do their shopping, there were barely four or five butchers selling meat for as much as a non-negotiable sum of 1,000 Fr a kilo.

There are several reasons for this shortage. Besides last year's severe drought which decimated the country's livestock, not a single billy goat or ram escaped the Tabaski slaughter. As a result, the only thing available in livestock markets are ewes, lambs and a few nanny goats. Moreover, there are fewer and fewer of those. This year's good rainy season has produced an abundance of grazing land and breeders prefer to keep their animals.

The atmosphere that prevailed just a month ago in the two Niamey livestock markets, Lazaret and Harobanda, is no longer the same. There were barely 30 animals, including one old, harassed cow, in Harobanda yesterday. The number was greater in Lazaret, although the prices were practically the same: 5 thousand to 9 thousand Fr for a goat, 12 thousand to 35 thousand Fr for a sheep, 50 thousand to 80 thousand Fr for a cow and up to 140 thousand Fr for a camel.

Moreover, to stimulate recovery of livestock breeding, the slaughter of breeder animals has been prohibited, which caused a sharp drop in production at the Niamey refrigerated slaughterhouse.

To meet the demand, the Nigerian Animal Resources Company (SONERAN) had to dip into its stocks to provide the slaughterhouse with animals from ranches in the Niamey department. As a result, SONERAN's tonnage increased from 4,798 kg during the week of 16-23 September to 61,880 kg from 24 September to 1 October.

The second measure to stimulate production was a price increase to motivate butchers to do more prospecting among local, and even neighboring country markets. The Commission Against High Prices proposed prices that have been in effect since 1 October. A kilo of beef with bones which cost 450 Fr increased to 600 Fr.

This increase was well accepted by housewives, since it was lower than the one decided by butchers a few days ago. Moreover, they say they are ready to pay a little more for better quality meat. On the other hand, they continue to pass over camel and especially goat meat, showing a marked preference for beef.

The situation has thus returned to normal, although some doubt remains about SONERAN's ability to meet the demand for any length of time.

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the deposed CMS, in which Gen Buchari, its president and supreme head of the armed forces, was assisted by Gen Tunde Idiagbon, whose duties were those of a super-prime minister. To many observers, Gen Tunde Idiagbon--who cultivated an image as a man who was rigid, harsh and radical--seemed to be the real architect of the policy that was conducted.

Gen Babangida indicates his desire to exert a more firmly personal power. He has abolished the post of chief of staff, supreme general headquarters and established a clear separation between military affairs and governmental affairs. For the former, he is assisted by a defense minister, Gen Domkat Bali; for the latter, by Navy Commodore Ebete Ukiwe, who became responsible for the political administration of the country and the number two man in the regime, with the prerogatives of a prime minister.

Finally, to build an expanded national base for himself, the new president demonstrated, in his early appointments, a concern for a certain regional balance, which constitutes an innovation here. He divided the three most important posts in the CGFA among representatives of different ethnic groups. The same concern for regional balance is affirmed in his appointment of the governors of the 19 states of the Federation. "He has taken into account the geographic specificities and the philosophy of the Nigerian people." This was the commentary by a Nigerian authority on politics, Professor Adebumi Ayoale, of the Political Science Department of the University of Ibadan.¹

The political clarification is related--if we confine ourselves to all of the measures taken up to the present--to the desire to govern while having public opinion on one's side rather than against one. Gen Babangida has been eager to demonstrate a clear difference with the deposed regime on the question of public freedoms, first of all freedom of the press.

The former government was regrettably well-known for its attacks on public freedoms. Decree No 4, which protects civil servants from libel, will stand in Nigeria's political history as the most disastrous episode for a press which until that time had been dynamic and free. Many journalists were imprisoned under that decree. Last June, in a story concerning freedom of the press in Africa, the Lagos CONCORD WEEKLY said, "The Nigerian press is now in a coma, and aside from an occasional few satirical drawings..., the editorials and commentaries have lost their ability to disturb."²

However, Decree No 2 is even more of an attack on freedom than Decree No 4. It permitted the arrest of any person considered a danger to the security of the state. Lawyers, politicians and writers, such as Dr Tai Solarin, who was called "the voice of the critical conscience" of the country, have been arrested by virtue of this law. Just as symbolic was the sentencing of the celebrated singer Fela "for trafficking in foreign currency".

"Suppression of freedom and repression of the press can be no more than a passing phase that will come to an end at the same time as this government," the CONCORD WEEKLY courageously wrote at the conclusion of its article. "Freedom of expression," it added, "is part of the national traditions, because it is anchored in the pluralistic and multi-ethnic nature of our society. No government can reasonably succeed in its mission if it mutilates this inherent, traditional and fundamental right."³

NIGERIA

BABANGIDA'S METHOD OF GOVERNING ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Oct 85 p 13

[Article by Michel Lobe Ewane: "The Outlook for Nigeria Is Still Bleak"]

[Text] Nigeria is preparing to accept the conditions laid down by the IMF. This is one of the consequences of the coup d'etat last 27 August that brought down President Buhari. For several months it had been obvious in Lagos that the Supreme Military Committee (CMS), which came to power after the fall of President Shehu Shagari's civilian regime, was deeply divided on the subject of the attitude to be adopted toward the IMF. Gen Ibrahim Babangida's intervention, which forcibly ended the debate, gives the Nigerian officers an opportunity to clarify the political directions of black Africa's giant power.

The matter of the debt is dividing the different sectors of Nigerian life. President Babangida, who is aware of that reality, decided to open up a national debate on the question. That may be a sign of a new style characterized by a concern for political and institutional clarification and above all by economic clarification.

For the first time in the history of Nigerian coups d'etat, the name of the new strong man was unknown until after the success of the putsch. The fact is worth emphasizing. All the more so because Gen Babangida's personality and his role in the preceding putsches reveal him as a man of action and driving ambition. He is a legendary character in the armed forces, where he enjoys great popularity.

In 1975, he was part of the triumvirate of officers who caused the fall of Gen Gowon in favor of Gen Murtala. In 1976, he took part in the loyalist officers' counter-offensive against the attempt by Lt Dimka, in the course of which Gen Murtala was assassinated. The government remained in the hands of the faithful followers of the deceased and Gen Obasanjo became the new head of state. We find Gen Babangida in 1983 among the principal actors in the coup d'etat that overthrew the civilian regime. This "kingmaker", as some people call him, at last chose to crown himself.

Several signs point to a perception of the government as one that seeks to settle down permanently. The Council for the Government of the Armed Forces (CGFA), the new supreme organ, is abandoning the two-headed structure that characterized

To find a solution to the problem of exporting durable goods, the former government had engaged in the strategy of compensation agreements, which ties the sale of Nigerian petroleum to the importation of products vital to its industry: France, through Elf-Aquitaine, which signed an agreement for \$500 million; Brazil, which has achieved a remarkable penetration with the help of PETROBRAS [Brazilian Petroleum] and has committed itself to buying 40,000 barrels a day in exchange for equipment amounting to \$500 million to be delivered by the Brazilian firm COTIA [expansion unknown]. On the list of candidates for "barter" (compensation agreement) we find Italy, Australia and even Japan. But the deal with Brazil is the only one that went off without a hitch. For very quickly, problems connected with the lower price of petroleum arose.

This policy, which is very controversial and which led to a flood of corruption in import licenses, has just been suspended by the new administration. With oil production fallen to 1.1 million barrels per day (well below the OPEC quota of 4.5 million) and the near-failure of the "barter" policy, the government's only remaining path is a very narrow one.

Because the agreement with the IMF could not be a solution. According to Tunde Thomson, the editor of the daily THE GUARDIAN, which was one of the victims of Decree No 4, "The IMF conditions are ridiculous. Nigeria cannot accept economic suicide. It can no longer put itself in the position of an economic slave."

Gen Babangida has requested that the question be opened to national debate. One has in fact already started, several months ago, in the press as well as in public statements. Thus, last June, at a symposium organized in Bauchi, the capital of the state of Bauchi, by the Nigerian Economic Society, it was possible to measure the gulf that separates the interested parties. For Kalu I. Kalu, the then finance minister for the state of Imo who has just been named finance minister in the new Nigerian government, the IMF loan is the best solution to revive the economy. According to him, "The loan will permit agriculture & the industrial sector to meet the machinery and raw materials needs more easily." According to the general secretary of the NLC (Nigerian Labor Council) trade union, Malam A.M. Dangwa, liberalization of importation will be accompanied by a deficit in the balance of payments, while abolishing subsidies will have an insupportable inflationary effect. "For a nation that has known frequent changes of government, freezing wages in a context of galloping inflation can only result in chaos," he said.

The whole debate is taking place against an economic background that comes close to the IMF's requirements. Efiom Essien notes in his economics column in THE GUARDIAN that there have been regular devaluations for the last several months, without any official decision having been taken, simply on the strength of the laws of the marketplace.⁷ The effects of this devaluation called by another name are felt by the industrial sector as much as by the housewife's market basket. The pharmaceutical products company Hoechst Nigeria Limited estimates it has lost in this way 1.9 million nairas in 1983 and 1.8 million in 1984 because of the currency depreciation. According to its PDG [president and general manager] Emmanuel Oyedele Ashamu, "Devaluation of the naira at a later date would have a negative effect on profits."⁸

However, the real victims are the consumers, because all of the excessive costs are passed on to the prices for products. It is increasingly hard for a

Gen Babangida really seems to have received that message, because his first decision was to abrogate Decree No 4 and assert that his government will take criticism into account. Four days after the coup d'etat, 100 people were released, among them former ministers, journalists and foreigners.

Confronting the Crisis

Although a certain political and institutional clarification was swiftly accomplished--toward openness--, the conditions for economic clarification do not appear to have been brought together at all. And the new regime is getting ready to face the unpopularity of the measures it will have to take.

President Babangida inherits a situation that is even more critical than the one his predecessor found.⁴ The previous administration entered into an austerity policy without waiting for the IMF loan the conditions for which were judged unacceptable. The IMF was demanding that the naira be devalued 60 percent, trade be liberalized--especially with an opening of the borders--and, lastly, that state subsidies for petroleum products be stopped.

In choosing to confront the economic crisis without the cooperation of the IMF, Mr Buhari's government was taking an enormous gamble that in the end it was unable to win. It had simultaneously to honor its foreign debt, estimated at about \$20 billion, to renegotiate the short-term outstanding debts (\$3.5 billion according to the Central Bank of Nigeria, \$7 billion according to the international banks), to reduce inflation,⁵ to start up agricultural production again and finally to ensure a level of importation sufficient for maintaining industrial production, in spite of lower oil revenues.

President Buhari gave priority to settling the foreign debt. The 1985 budget thus provided for devoting 44 percent of revenue to servicing the debt. At the same time, only 9.5 billion nairas--70 percent less than the 1982 budget--were allotted to imports, which had a disastrous effect on the industrial sector, where lay-offs and strikes were widespread because of the scarcity of spare parts or raw materials. "Since last year, out of a 700-person work force, we have been forced to lay off more than 500," a SCOATRAC [expansion unknown] official told us. SCOATRAC is one of the divisions of SCOA [West African Trading Company], the principal French importing group in Nigeria.

The Nigerian Soft Drink Company, which has a license for Schweppes products, has just announced that it is closing down for 2 months for lack of raw materials. Like many firms, it is running at 30 percent capacity.

The former administration's drastic measures affected only the private sector. The government itself went ahead with reductions in work force in the civil service, affecting over 20 percent of the civil servants. The Ministry of Agriculture, which had 10,746 civil servants in 1984, still had only 7,500 of them this year. The record for lay-offs was established by the Finance Ministry, which has retained a mere 4,291 out of 26,000 employees, a skimming of more than 80 percent of the personnel.⁶

SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. DISINVESTMENT SEEN AS THREAT

Johannesburg INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BULLETIN in English Vol 9, No 2, 1985 pp 4-21

[Article by Guy Woolford]

[Text]

The role of economic sanctions or more specifically, disinvestment, as a tool of foreign policy towards South Africa is one of the most complex and contradictory problems the West has faced in recent years. Nowhere is this more evident than in recent United States-South African relations. Americans have been informed of the strategic significance of South African minerals¹ and the positive role US multinationals have played in South Africa² yet a wave of protest against continued economic involvement in South Africa has swept across the United States, which combined with a deteriorating dollar-rand exchange rate has made the United States appear for a time at least as the major threat to the political economy of South Africa. What fuels the disinvestment campaign? Is it pure repugnance for apartheid or does it represent a certain inability to formulate a cogent and efficacious policy toward South Africa?

With over 300 US companies generating between 5 and 6 billion dollars a year in bilateral trade and 2-3 billion dollars worth of investments, it is not hard to understand the concern felt within South Africa about the heightened prospect of US economic withdrawal. In 1983 as well as 1984 the United States was the most significant exporter to, and importer of South African goods.³ In addition, US companies control 70 per cent of computer manufacturing, 44 per cent of the oil business and 33 per cent of auto manufacturing within South Africa.⁴ The US also controls a significant slice of the pharmaceutical business. In 1984 South Africa's total foreign currency liability, direct and indirect, was approximately \$45.5 billion and the United States accounted for approximately 25 per cent of this amount. The decline in the dollar-rand exchange rate during 1984 and 1985 has increased the percentage accounted for by the United States to as much as 40 per cent of South Africa's total foreign liabilities.⁵ 23 out of 68 US banks have acknowledged that they have extended loans to South Africa. This includes six banks which have extended loans to the South African government and public sector.⁶

matter of time before we break down the last ramparts of those who are bullying our brothers in the south of the continent. However, the fact that we are suffering for another reason related to color is because we are not proud of ourselves: Why the temptation to lighten our color? The Senghors and the Aime Cesaires had a good reaction in their time by adopting what was a clearly appropriate but limited attitude. If only for that reason, I would conclude that this issue of the League of Black States is a latecomer.

Leopold Sedar Senghor, the great writer, had well grasped the limits of negritude to go on to think about cultural mixing through cultural intermarriage, and finally resulting in a universal civilization.

According to the Zairian professor-theoretician Mr Binda, he takes into consideration the natural border of the African continent, the Sahara. Was not the Sahara previously green? Is it a fixed area? Are not we in the south threatened by a devastating advance of this desert? If its progress to the south continues, will not there be a disproportion between the two parts of Africa that he talks about?

In a word, allow me to say that "Africa has no color. Like science, the truth does not belong to any race." May we develop mutual respect and growing solidarity among peoples.

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Lagos resident to leave there. The city is the most expensive in the world and one of the most dangerous and its urban growth one of the most anarchic. The stores are virtually empty, the buses dilapidated. It is a prostrate country that Gen Babangida has undertaken to bring out of its crisis. His objective is a long way from being won ahead of time.

FOOTNOTES

1. THE GUARDIAN, Lagos, 30 August 1985.
2. CONCORD WEEKLY, Lagos, 20 June 1985.
3. CONCORD WEEKLY, op. cit.
4. FINANCIAL TIMES, London, 28 August 1985.
5. It is officially 30 percent, according to the Central Bank of Nigeria.
6. CONCORD WEEKLY, 15 August 1985. On Nigeria in crisis, see also LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, January 1985.
7. THE GUARDIAN, 16 August 1985. One dollar = 1,124 naira (summer 1985).
8. THE GUARDIAN, 3 September 1985.

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SENEGAL

ISRAELI TUNIS RAID IS WARNING TO REST OF AFRICA

Dakar WAL FADJRI in French 10-25 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Sidy Lamine Niass: "Africa Must React"]

[Text] Caught up in the whirlwind of the accelerating events in South Africa, international opinion had almost forgotten it. Brutally, and in accordance with its hateful practice, Israel has been brought back to the unhappy memory of everyone. The murderous raid that struck the Palestinian and Tunisian peoples to the heart in Tunis was part of a logic related to the Zionist state's very existence. This institutionalized terrorism is not about to disappear, and the "peace hopes" of some in this region of the world are appearing more and more illusory.

The Israeli bellicosity did, however, take a step in space, a step that brings Africa onto the front line. For the first time since the 1967 war, aside from the Entebbe raid, our continent has become an Israeli military target. This is a serious warning, and it is important to react. The question now is to know whether this was a strictly Arab issue, or whether we should feel involved.

Beyond Afro-Arab solidarity, beyond the fact that Tunisia is a full member of the OAU, we should realize that a vigorous response is needed. Israel's imperialism no longer needs to be demonstrated. Our nearby continent may offer visions for a country short of space and alliances around the world. This attack on Tunis, despite the fact that it was sheltering the Palestinian headquarters, shows us that we are not at all safe from the Zionist aims.

Africa as a whole is thus challenged, even threatened. It must react to preserve its dignity, but also to strengthen its unity. Also, more than ever, vigilance is necessary against those countries that at Zaire's example are offering a bridgehead for Zionist penetration into our continent. Diplomatic and economic alliances always precede military alliances, opening the door to all forms of aggression.

This attack on Tunis will certainly make the Israeli threat more clear, confirm Israel's terrorist nature, and make even more risky its planned penetration into our continent.

The American reaction following this raid was also very educational, a raid

SENEGAL

LETTER CRITICIZES LEAGUE OF BLACK STATES IDEA

Dakar WAL FADJRI in French 10-25 Oct 85 p 1

[Letter to the editor by Lamine Aidara Sokhna: "The Truth Does not Belong to any Single Race"]

[Text] Dear WAL FADJRI editors, I congratulate you on your courage in having accepted my previous letter titled "Analyze the facts according to the principles of Islam," and especially for having published it in full.

Here is another letter that will certainly enable me, through your paper, to give my point of view on the ideas developed by His Excellency Sakombi Inongo and Professor Binda in LE SOLEIL of 30 September 1985.

As the headline in LE SOLEIL page 6 indicates, unanimity could not be found regarding the League of Black States; certainly not with the split that developed among certain intellectuals invited to Taranga Hotel. Was this the result of sincere discussions marked by serious disagreements?

The interesting thing about the topic "The Black Issue and the League of Black States" developed by Mr Inongo, Zaire's ambassador to Paris, is particularly the real motives of the initiators of these ideas.

If this is racism toward the whites, then it is better to see it as it is. Racism is stumbling. The case of the racist whites in South Africa is there, quite evident. Their ideology constantly backfires on them. This has been true ever since the writings on race of Gobineau, or even earlier. No culture is superior to another, thus no people is superior to another.

If in achieving a simple solidarity among blacks there emerge homozygotes and heterozygotes, one may wonder whether that would not still be segregation.

This apartheid synonym is also one of the roads that leads nowhere. For one cannot live in isolation only with blacks. And what if the whites, the yellow, etc did the same? It is difficult, if not impossible, to manage without the others. We have learned and confirmed that all the great civilizations were born at the major crossroads where all social elements and different peoples merged.

It is a valid argument to say that "one is black, one suffers from it, and that's enough." I would say that one has suffered even more and it is only a

that Ronald Reagan approved of and certainly encouraged by his complicity. However, could one find any better American ally on the continent than Tunisia? Though openly aligned with American views, Tunis has fallen from on high through America's treachery. However, that is only concrete proof of a fact that everyone knew: Israel is only the extension of Washington's armed hand. Those who still refuse to recognize this clear fact are simply motivated by interests other than those of the Arab and African nations.

Polarized by the liberation struggle taking place in the south of the continent, and of whose crucial nature all are aware, Africa must in future keep in mind that it is the natural extension of another continent where Zionist imperialism does not recognize any limits for itself. Unless we take care, this Israeli attack on Tunisian territory could be only the beginning of outright aggressions. And in these matters, Israel does not bother with pretexts.

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The introduction of a number of disinvestment Bills by Democratic as well as Republican Senators into Congress this year, which typically include provisions for a prohibition of bank loans by US banks, a ban on the importation of Krugerrands⁸ and a ban on new investment in South Africa represents a new dimension in disinvestment activity and is clearly a significant step forward for those who would seek the ultimate political and economic isolation of South Africa. Activity on the campuses, outside the South African Embassy, within Congress and at shareholder meetings, together with press releases would suggest that the momentum to disengage from the South African economy has reached unprecedented levels.

US multinationals and their South African associates and subsidiaries have since the initiation of the Sullivan principles in 1977, pursued policies in South Africa directed at the economic and social upliftment of Blacks in South Africa.⁹ The construction of technical colleges in Soweto and elsewhere, financial assistance to schools and substantial housing, pension and scholarship benefits for Black employees are some of the areas where improvements in working and social conditions have taken place because of growing US pressure. The response, however significant in the context of South Africa or however integrative these measures may have been, has not been sufficient to mitigate the opinions of those critics who continue to see the multinationals or indeed capitalism itself as collaborators in apartheid. Even Sullivan himself complains that more constructive change is needed, and has extended the parameters of his principles for US firms operating in South Africa.¹⁰ Sullivan has recently called for a total US economic embargo in the event that apartheid has not ended legally — and in practice — within the next 24 months. The multinationals for their part complain of cumbersome reporting procedures, and of pressure to develop high visibility public relations projects which detract from the more critical long range issues such as teacher training.

However, while it may seem to many in South Africa that American-controlled multinationals have occupied a pivotal position and played a crucial role in the quest for improved labour relations, employment practices and even race relations, this is clearly not recognized in the US itself.¹¹ The reasons are twofold. Firstly, corporations, despite considerable resources at their disposal have failed to communicate their position effectively to administrators and the public at large. Secondly, corporate management, lacking the inclination to involve itself too directly in politics, may subconsciously feel that pressure, external or otherwise, should continue to be applied on what it perceives to be a politically obdurate government. What it has underestimated however, is the resolve of those working within a plethora of Anti-Apartheid organizations in the US and elsewhere to alienate, embarrass and discredit those companies with South African dealings or connections. What should be recognized is that the disinvestment movement reflects not only an anti-apartheid sentiment but an anti-business, and anti-multinational attitude in the United States. A survey conducted by the South Africa Foundation in Washington and published on 3 March 1980, revealed that of the 50 major corporate investors in South Africa that were interviewed, including 5 major lending banks, there was a 100 per cent affirmative response by corporations that the disinvestment movement was an expression of anti-corporate sentiment.¹²

The visit by Edward Kennedy in January 1985 is symptomatic or indicative of the desire within various activist groups, organizations and political parties within the United States to use South Africa for domestic political footbaling (a fact which did not go undetected by South Africans of various political persuasions) and a desire on their part to broaden their constituencies, gain publicity and to increase their involvement or influence in the formation of US foreign policy. Organized labour, the Black Community, African liberation committees and organizations, church groups, campus movements and all those Americans who take for granted that America is capable of managing the world better than any other nation, have formed themselves into an anti-apartheid, anti-South African grouping which at present shows few signs of collapsing. Simon Barber, of "Business Day" writing in May 1985 refers to the "new McCarthyism" afflicting the United States, only now the witchhunts, blacklists and monomania are directed at all Americans favouring engagement, association or détente with South Africa.¹³ A list of the multitude of organizations in the United States which support disinvestment in South Africa was published by the South Africa Foundation in Washington in 1980, a revised and expanded version of which is included below. (Table 3).

The set of assumptions that binds these organizations together has remained virtually the same since Carter took office in 1977. Generally speaking it can be stated that central to their beliefs is the premise that the Soviet Union is a détente power, that the demise of the white South African government is inevitable, that human rights are vital determinants of foreign relations, that US economic and mineral dependency on South Africa is decreasing, that trade with Black Africa is more important than with South Africa, that the US should get on the right side of history in its policies towards South Africa, that apartheid is incompatible with fundamental national values in the US, and that apartheid is morally wrong. While it is possible to question the motives and even understanding of those who support disinvestment in South Africa, one must accept that it does include a large section of concerned Americans who are committed to the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. However it can be argued that disinvestment together with a diminution of social, cultural and political links would reduce US influence and would only, in the words of Eagleburger, "assure America's irrelevance to South Africa's future" (former Under Secretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger—4 July 1983).

It is a paradox that those seeking more US influence with respect to Pretoria would destroy such linkages as already exist. And yet it is the illusory effect of sanctions that is most attractive; sanctions and disinvestment strategies at least create the illusion of doing something when doing nothing is regarded as tantamount to complicity, however harmful the consequences might be.¹⁴

Certainly the implementation of comprehensive sanctions would dissociate the United States from the moral outrage of apartheid but if recent experience of embargoes has taught the US nothing else, it is the fact that effective comprehensive sanctions cannot be unilateral. If they are, trade, aid and technology flows will simply be diverted with or without the use of intermediaries. For example, when the United States applied sanctions against Cuba in 1960, solidarity among the US and its allies was found to be weak: Cuban trade with Canada increased from \$13m in 1960 to \$31m in

1961; in 1962 British firms supplied the Castro regime with plant and machinery, and between 1962 and 1963 Cuban trade with Spain increased from \$10m to \$24m.

The United States itself was the first country to break overtly the embargo against the Smith regime in Rhodesia, over supplies of chrome ore (1971). Similarly, in 1981 when the US applied an embargo against the USSR over a Euro-Soviet gas pipeline project, the US failed to achieve solidarity of support amongst its allies.¹⁵

Despite the trade liberalization measures set out in GATT, of which both the United States and South Africa are signatories, Article 21 of the GATT regulations gives the contracting parties rights to take any action considered necessary for the protection of essential security interests,¹⁶ a clause which is likely to have the effect of invalidating any obligation under the agreement.

With the prospect of rhetorical and unyielding exchanges taking place between government and interest groups in both countries, the Reagan Administration would do better to continue with hitherto employed diplomatic strategies: these may or may not include the threat of disinvestment, but what is important is that the initiatives should be directed toward specific and sustainable measures, a strategy of positive sanctions.

The relative uncertainty facing South African foreign policy makers with respect to disinvestment may be accounted for by the proliferation of bills put forward to Congress this year, the diffusion of responsibilities, and the conflicting or inconsistent policies which appear to be evident in the US relationship with South Africa. In 1975 Harald Malmgren, former deputy special representative for trade negotiations for the US President stated:

The disarray in policy management hurts us domestically because our economy is sadly served by conflict and confusion in the management of our economic relationship with other nations. The disarray hurts us in our dealings with the governments of other nations because they sense the inconsistencies and lack of domestic consensus in support of our international initiatives, which leads them to wait us out, while we wrestle with ourselves at home.¹⁷

In any event, modern penological theory does not support punishment and retribution as a means for making people comply. Judging by the results of the 1977 Arms Embargo and the growth in the South African arms industry, together with the experience in Rhodesia and Cuba, an embargo would probably encourage development of a more self-sufficient economy.¹⁸ South Africa has a well developed infrastructure, with a high level of mineral independence. It is largely in capital intensive high technology equipment and machinery that dependency is critical. For example, Fluor Corporation, a US concern, was the principal contractor for SASOL II and III.¹⁹ While some analysts have claimed that more labour intensive economic development is likely as a result of sanctions, the diversion of the bulk of this trade to other industrialized countries (primarily due to competition and persistent unemployment prevailing within these states) is a more likely prospect. Contrabandism will escalate. Military technology, for example, has continued to flow to South Africa despite the Arms Embargo. Research by various organizations including the American Friends Service Committee confirms this. The spectre of counter-sanctions makes total compliance unlikely.²⁰ The Reagan Administration has persistently reminded the sanctioners that US mineral dependency on South Africa is critical. (Refer Table 1). As the OTA (Office of Technology and Assessment), a US

government advisory body, pointed out in January 1985, the use of stockpiles, substitutes, alternatives, recycling and the exploitation of uneconomic resources are likely options to any strategy of resource denial.²¹ South Africa for her part needs foreign exchange, particularly dollars in order to procure oil.

What is certain however, is that attention will be focused almost entirely on achieving economic survival and continuity. Political reform will, if anything, achieve a lower priority than before. As Galtung (Director of the International Peace Research Institute) points out, a target society is like an organism with a certain self-maintaining potential — when hit it reacts so as to restore the status quo ante and in so doing it might even be strengthened. Furthermore, attitudes are likely to harden, polarizing the society even further. Resources would be diverted from social programmes such as education and housing toward national security concerns and strategic funds for oil and essential technology. It is naive to think that the US would be able to achieve a total cessation of the trade and investment flowing to South Africa. There is hardly a single case in history where sanctions have been able to bring a government to its knees or to change dramatically the framework of the domestic political order. Besides, as Herman Nickel, the US Ambassador in South Africa stated in January 1985:

to adopt a policy that would quite coolly and deliberately reduce job opportunities seems an odd, not say perverse, way of expressing solidarity and support for the tens of thousands who flocked to Crossroads in a desperate search for work.²²

In South Africa, Whites still regard black political enfranchisement in terms of personal costs and the fear of political and economic degeneration à l'Afrique. The withdrawal of US investments in South Africa will exacerbate this feeling of white insecurity: in many quarters it is believed that racial tension will increase correspondingly.

The Schlemmer report, published recently by the Natal University Department of Applied Social Sciences, emphasized black worker rejection of disinvestment. Significantly, the report showed that employees in US companies had a significantly lower sense of grievances than other companies' employees, that the Sullivan code of employment practices had a salutary effect on personnel policies in US companies; and that the promotion of total disinvestment by US companies operating in South Africa had little support amongst black production workers in South Africa. Seventy-five per cent of the 551 industrial workers questioned said they were against disinvestment. *The Economist* described this survey as the most scientific to date. It is not only the South African government which believes that Blacks will inevitably be the victims of disinvestment: any decline in employment and economic growth due to a drop in overseas demand will inevitably be felt most by migrant black labourers and employees in those sectors such as mining, which depend on overseas markets. (In 1977, 643 339 Blacks were employed in the mining industry, 90.35 per cent of the total.)²³

This factor would also have the effect of limiting the political impact on white South Africans. Losman, writing on the failure of sanctions in Rhodesia, concludes:

... most of the internal effect of sanctions fell upon the "wrong" group, the African population, which wielded no political power. The position of whites was protected by adroit government policies so as to minimize white unemployment.²⁴

Disinvestment will most certainly send a signal to those repressed peoples that the US is on the side of change, but will it accomplish change? Newspapers in South Africa are already filled with reports of Western and Third World repugnance for apartheid. Disinvestment will exacerbate feelings of "total onslaught", that "the world doesn't understand us"! As Holsti pointed out "In policy making the state of the environment does not matter so much as what government officials believe that state to be".²⁵ White Government will react by arguing that such moves are violations of sovereignty, international law and attempts to impinge on the government's right to govern. Many, perhaps justifiably, will argue that the measures are selective and hypocritical. Sports boycotts and the arms embargo have demonstrated such negative and paranoid response. To quote Frankel:

In a redundant fashion reminiscent of the Cold War at its coldest, the United Nations arms embargo on South Africa is, from the view of total strategy, the result of a communist plot engineered directly from Moscow or orchestrated through anti-South African elements within the Republic, throughout the Third World—the so-called "Afro-Asian" bloc—or black states on the African continent.

The efforts of local African nationalists to promote political change, the expulsion of colonialism in the territories adjacent to South Africa, indeed the entire international abomination of the apartheid system is in one way or another attributed to Soviet attempts to seize South Africa as the strategic jewel of Africa.²⁶

What about the virtues of constructive engagement, and the use of dialogue and diplomacy to nudge the government in a certain direction? One high ranking US State Department Official stated "I'd hate to deal with South Africa without any pressures in the background". Is not the threat of sanctions a preferred strategy to sanctions themselves? After all, are not economic growth and interchange motivators of racial progress? Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, despite evidence of his waning influence in Washington, has made this point all along. This line of reasoning is supported by such implacable opponents of the apartheid regime as Helen Suzman, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and, until recently, Andrew Young.

What has also become evident in recent months is the appeal that the disinvestment campaign has evoked from the protectionist movement in the US. Reverend Jesse Jackson proclaimed in December 1984 that 1.5m jobs had been lost in America because of competition from "black slave labour in the South African copper, coal and steel industries". The growing protectionist mood has been affected by a strong dollar and a surge in US imports. (Between 1981 and 1984 exports fell 7 per cent while imports surged by 25 per cent). According to Jefferson, chairman of Du Pont, the rise in the value of the dollar since 1980 has put a 50 per cent surcharge on all US goods sold abroad, and a 50 per cent subsidy on all imports.²⁷ Financiers, lobbyists, and even Congressmen are calling for a surcharge on imports and these protectionist pressures will certainly influence the Congressional decision as to whether the US should disinvest in South Africa: unfortunately the drop in the dollar-rand exchange rate over recent months has made the repatriation of capital a very expensive option for US multinationals in South Africa. What has made the situation even more complex has been the enormous growth in the United States' external trade deficit and the perceived need by some economists for the United States to liquidate foreign investments in

attempt to redirect the flow of capital to the US. While in principle this line of reasoning makes sense (the current account deficit for the first three quarters of 1984 was \$200,8 billion), South Africa accounts for a relatively insignificant percentage, of total US trade. It is estimated that trade with South Africa accounts for less than 0,2 per cent of United States GNP, while the 2,3 billion dollars that Americans hold in South African enterprises amounts to just one per cent of US direct investment abroad.

In some instances protectionist sentiments have already been combined with anti-apartheid thinking to affect corporate planning. Jeff Nichols, President of Precious Metals Advisory Inc, declared in January 1985 his intention to launch an investment company that will not hold any South African stock or gold:

By investing only in North American precious metals we will have no social, political, and/or foreign exchange difficulties.²⁸

It is understood however that his intention is to obtain support from those pension funds and institutions who wish to dissociate themselves from South Africa.

What is even more enduring and consequential to South Africa is the piecemeal disinvestment legislation already passed, and the continued lobbying by activist groups to pressure Congress, state legislatures, city government and universities as well as individual corporations to follow suit.

Legislation has already been passed in five state legislatures, viz. Connecticut, Maryland, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Michigan, in over forty universities and in more than 20 city governments. Similar legislation is under consideration in several others. Furthermore, lobbying by activist groups shows no sign of abating. The aim is to send a message to South Africa that "apartheid is unacceptable and will not receive financial support from public funds".²⁹

Even small investors and institutions are being frightened away from South African-linked corporations. Portfolio managers are inundated with enquiries as to whether to dump South African stock. *The Wall Street Journal* reports:

Many corporate planners and politicians believe that US involvement in South Africa is at a turning point. While American companies continue in public to fight the growing pressure, in private more and more are questioning the value of staying.³⁰

The threat of procurement legislation, which aims at boycotting the sale of products manufactured or produced by US companies dealing in South Africa, together with the "hassle factor" which is jargon for the inordinate amount of time spent by US executives either defending or dealing with the South African issue, has contributed to the growing disillusionment felt within corporate America about South Africa.

In the first session of the 99th Congress of 1985, 28 bills relating to disinvestment in South Africa and US-South African relations were introduced into the House of Representatives and 7 bills were introduced into the Senate. The most significant of these is the "Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985" sponsored and introduced into the Senate by Senators Edward Kennedy, William Proxmire and Patrick Moynihan. In an attempt to speed up the legislative process the identical bill is being introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Gray of Pennsylvania and Congressman

Stephen Solarz, one of the most vocal critics of apartheid. Considering that there are 146 co-sponsors this bill will undoubtedly receive considerable attention in the House of Representatives as well as the Senate. Republican Senators, fearing that the Democratic Party may monopolize the South African issue have also reacted to the growing anti-apartheid mood in the United States. The "Anti-Apartheid Action Act" proposed by Senator Lugar and the "United States-South Africa Relations Act of 1985" sponsored by Senator William Roth, however takes a more constructive line.

Multi-million dollar scholarship programmes for Blacks, increased funding for the Kassebaum Human Rights Fund (which aids certain South African community groups), mandatory codes of labour practices, and selective and conditional involvement by the Export-Import Bank of the United States (EXIM) and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) are some of the measures introduced in both bills. The Roth-McConnell bill goes further and would terminate landing rights of South African Airways, would prohibit nuclear trade between the United States and South Africa and would direct the US Secretary of State to reduce the number of SA Consulates in the United States to the number of US Consulates in South Africa.

The Senate testimony given by US Deputy Secretary of State, Kenneth W. Dam on 22 April 1985 reflects the Administration's growing frustration with the legislation being presented to the Congress. He told the Senate that legislation proposing the curtailment of US economic relations with South Africa because of its government's apartheid policy would be counter-productive. Dam pointed out that sanctions would threaten black job opportunities, would discriminate against US firms operating in South Africa, and would deny to the United States companies the positive role they are presently playing in South Africa. A prohibition on bank loans, he stated, would create a dangerous precedent undermining the US policy that international capital markets should remain free of government interference and that lending decisions should be based on market rather than political considerations. In addition, he argued, an effective loan prohibition to cover foreign affiliates of branches of US banks would raise questions about the extraterritorial application of US law.³¹

The vast array of disinvestment legislation together with the well orchestrated protests taking place outside the South African Embassy in Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, has resulted in a surge of media coverage on South Africa within the United States. The shootings in Uitenhage and the mounting unrest since, culminating in the declaration of a State of Emergency, has unfortunately, provided almost daily images of a government unable to control a situation of worsening racial conflict. When protestors are being killed due to police militancy, it does not mean very much to refer to high levels of literacy or the relative freedoms to be found in South Africa, when compared to many Third World States.

To examine developments in South Africa: institutionalized racism still exists. The public representatives of Coloureds and Indians are currently occupying separate parliamentary chambers and the Blacks still regard reform as hopelessly inadequate substitutes for real political rights. Dr N. Motlana, President of the Soweto Civic Association, has stated quite categorically:

The new constitution is unimportant to Blacks: if anything it has united us in opposition.³²

Nevertheless, there is some evidence of integrative forces emerging. Government recognition of the need to provide for Black civil rights within white South Africa has been a signal to many that the homelands policy no longer represents the cornerstone of government thinking. On the other hand the initiatives may be as contrived as the late B.J. Vorster's, "Give us six months" speech. It is perhaps too soon to comment upon government resolve: certain practices are much less encouraging than others. Government statements to the effect that forced removals for ideological reasons only will not continue will certainly do something to lessen the tensions which still exist. Influx control is being phased out and the pass law system is also being reconsidered. The government however is notorious for formulating policy for Blacks without consulting them. (The establishment of black local councils in 1983 is a classic example of this.) A new orientation is needed and there are signs that this may be forthcoming, although in politics nothing is inevitable.

Michael Spicer, a former director at the South African Institute of International Affairs, has remarked that the disinvestment lobby in the United States is not seeking incremental change but change once and for all. Regarding reform in South Africa, the government in South Africa and the disinvestment movement in the United States have very different expectations and perceptual frameworks. What may appear to be meaningful change in South Africa will not necessarily be similarly regarded in the United States.³³

Certainly it is the government of South Africa that carries the ultimate responsibility for peace and stability; it alone has the capacity at present to create a climate that will generate investor confidence. Perhaps we need to be reminded of the views of John Kane-Berman, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, who in December 1983, speaking out against disinvestment, stated that "it is the input from South Africans themselves that will be decisive".³⁴ Western governments may prove to be only peripheral agents in the quest for a new political configuration in South Africa. It may be too that South Africa is more afraid of introducing racial equality than of any combination of disinvestment measures that the US might impose. The tardy and even evasive official response to the more radical aspects of the Human Science Research Council Report is perhaps sufficient comment in itself on government's dilemma when faced with a need to be bold — as also is its lack of positive reaction to calls from even moderate political leaders for a declaration or statement of intent as to the envisaged future order of government.

Conclusion

The United States disinvestment campaign which is at present fuelled simultaneously by Liberal, social-welfare, anti-apartheid, protectionist, moralistic, anti-capitalist, demagogic, as well as nihilistic sentiments cannot, in my opinion, serve the process of reform in South Africa. To quote Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly:

The dismantling of apartheid, even though hesitant and cautious, must be subjected to the glare of the international spotlight rather than isolation. Change will more likely be brought about through involvement and interaction with the international community than by threats of isolation.³⁵

Criticism of apartheid need not stop, but measures taken should be directed at sustainable and rehabilitative ends. The belief that in order to improve a situation you first have to make it worse is a crude and unenlightened one.

Incremental change is absolutely crucial if one is to avoid a total polarization of attitudes in South Africa and the concomitant racial violence that may well result. What South Africa needs from a United States which has had its own share of racial violence is encouragement as well as empathy. Disinvestment, will in my opinion, prevent the United States from playing such a meaningful role.

Notes

1. Refer Table 1 (Western Dependency on Key Strategic Minerals from South Africa).
2. *The Washington Times* concluded in an editorial (16 February 1984)
... from these companies come the livelihoods and dreams of many South Africans — especially non-whites — who have better friends in their foreign employers than in their national government. Desegregation in the workplace, equal pay to equal work, better education, community development and black entrepreneurship would not even be what they are in South Africa without the push from foreign investors.
Refer also "Are transnationals good for South Africa?" *Financial Mail Supplement*, 27 June 1980, and Allan C. Brownfield "Campaign for disinvestment grows in the US and stimulates heated debate" in *ISSUP Strategic Review*, June 1984.
3. Table 2 (South Africa: Balance of Payments and Trade):
4. *US News and World Report*, 21 January 1985, p. 44.
5. *Reserve Bank Bulletin*, 1984. Provided by US Information Service, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.
6. *ibid.*
7. Senator William Proxmire is drafting disinvestment legislation which is expected to be submitted to both the Senate and House of Representatives.
8. According to Intergold, South Africa's principal selling organization of Krugerrands, the US is the biggest client accounting for 60–70 per cent of total purchases. Of this amount 70 per cent are on behalf of clients living outside the US. Thus although the US may account for only approximately 20–30 per cent of total sales the US is the principal intermediary for the majority of Krugerrands transactions. According to Recia Atkins of Intergold "the credibility of Krugerrands lies in their tradeability". The threatened closure of the US market through these measures has already done serious harm to the credibility of the Krugerrand as a liquid asset and must adversely affect South African foreign exchange earnings. In 1984 total Krugerrand sales to the US are estimated to have been as high as \$450m (SABC, News Report, 16.2.85) approximately 5 per cent of total gold exports.
9. The brainchild of black Minister, Leon Sullivan, of Philadelphia, who is also a director of General Motors. The 128 signatories which account for 70 per cent of those employed by US firms in South Africa, agree to desegregate their workplaces, provide equal pay for equal work, improve job training, increase the number of non-white managers and improve housing, schooling and other nonwork conditions.
10. Late in 1984 as disinvestment became a sensitive issue, the Sullivan Principles were strengthened to include provisions that they must actively "influence" other companies in South Africa to follow such standards, support the ending of apartheid laws and back the abolition of influx control and those measures which restrict the freedom of Black employees.
11. *The Star*, 9 May 1985, p. 20.
12. According to Amcham (American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa), American controlled companies increased spending on education, health and housing from \$35 per employee in 1978 to \$383 in 1983. It also claims black wages in American owned firms have risen by more than 20 per cent (at least 6 per cent a year in real terms) for the past 5 years. *The Economist*, 23–29 March 1985, p. 17.

13. *Business Day*, 22 May 1985, p. 6.
14. This sentiment is summarized in a paper published by the Special Committee Against Apartheid, published in August 1980, which claimed:
 ... the South African economy had over the decades of its development as a capitalist formation become the repository of vast amounts of foreign investment from transnational corporations (TNCs), that the political representatives of these TNCs within the Governments of the capitalist countries constituted the main stumbling block to the call for mandatory sanctions ... Singly and collectively the TNCs' operations in South Africa constitute the foundations of the barbarous tyranny of white domination and exploitation in South Africa (A case for mandatory sanctions against South Africa, UN Document 80-20182).
 In 1981 at the Thirty-Sixth Session of the General Assembly the Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid reiterated this point:
 ... transnational corporations and other interests buttressing apartheid must be treated as accomplices in the crime of apartheid (Paragraph 331, General Assembly Official Records, 36th Session, Supplement no. 22, A/36/22).
15. According to Schreiber it is still the symbolic or expressive function of sanctions which makes economic measures such an attractive option to foreign governments and thus, despite the fact that (i) they may be hard to apply effectively, (ii) the leverage it may give the sender state may be minimal, (iii) the effects are discriminatory, (iv) far from lessening support for the government it may actually increase that support. Refer Anna P. Schreiber "Economic coercion as an instrument of foreign policy" *World Politics*, 25, 3 April 1973, pp. 387-413.
16. A treatment of the controversy that is posed by sanctions within the framework of GATT and international order may be found in *International Affairs*, vol. 60, No. 4, Autumn 1984. James Mayall "The sanctions problem in international relations: reflections in the light of recent experience".
17. As quoted by S.D. Cohen, *The Making of United States International Economic Policy*, Praeger (1977), p. 107.
18. Refer T. Koenderman: *Sanctions the threat to South Africa*, Jonathan Ball Publishers (1982), pp. 200-202. He concludes on p. 202 "Clearly the arms embargo has totally failed in whatever objective it sought to achieve. Although arms are an extremely sensitive strategic commodity ... South Africa appears to have been in no way disadvantaged by the embargo".
19. R. Bissell, *South Africa and the United States* Praeger (1982), p. 83.
20. Driven to despair, a strategy of resource denial e.g. refusal to trade in chrome, platinum and manganese, may be contemplated by South Africa.
21. *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 January 1985, p. 7.
22. Introduction by Ambassador H.W. Nickel at Senator E.M. Kennedy's luncheon with the South African and American Community, Carlton Centre, 1.1.85.
23. L. Farina, *Assessing the impact of economic sanctions on Black welfare in South Africa*, International University Exchange Fund (Geneva), 1980, p. 16.
24. D.L. Losman, *International Economic Sanctions: the Cases of Cuba, Israel and Rhodesia*, University of New Mexico Press (1980), p. 22.
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26. P.H. Frankel, *Pretoria's Praetorians: Civil military relations in South Africa*, Cambridge University Press (1984), p. 55.
27. *Time Magazine*, 25 February 1985, p. 42.
28. *Sunday Times*, Business Times, 27 January 1985, p. 3.
29. As quoted by Carl Nöfke "Divestment", p. 24 *American Review*, Summer 1984, vol. 4, No. 3.
30. *The Star*, 12 March 1985, p. 19.
31. *Newswatch*, 26 April 1985, pp. 56-62.
32. *The South African Foundation News*, vol. 11, No. 1, January 1985.
33. Refer D. Geldenhuys "The political prospects for sanctions: interaction of international pressures and domestic developments", p. 48. *South Africa and Sanctions: Genesis and Prospects*. Symposium, Johannesburg, 1979, SAIIA and SAIRR, pp. 30-70.
34. *The Star*, 5 December 1983.
35. *The Star*, 12 March 1985, p. 4.

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5. *The Possibility of a Resource War*: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety Seventh Congress, First Session, 8 July 1981.
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Table 1
WESTERN DEPENDENCY ON KEY STRATEGIC MINERALS FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mineral and alloy/leading Southern African source	% of US consumption supplied (1976-1979)	% of EEC consumption supplied (1977)	% of free world reserve base	US public/private stockpiles in years of country's supply	US vulnerability to short-term interruptions (under 2 yrs)	EEC vulnerability to short-term interruptions (under 2 yrs)	Western vulnerability to mid-term interruptions (2-7 yrs)	Non-stockpile alternatives in mid-term interruptions
Chromium (South Africa):								
Ore	46	49	68	6.0	Little	Significant	Major	Foreign reserves — Zimbabwe. Substitution up to 33 % in stainless steel. Increased recycling.
Ferro alloy	40	(2)	NA	3.5	Little	Significant	Major	Foreign reserves — Zimbabwe. Substitution up to 33 % in stainless steel. Increased recycling.
Manganese (South Africa):								
Ore	15	41	75	24.0	Little	Significant	Major	Foreign reserves — Gabon, Brazil, Australia, India and Mexico.
Ferro alloy	42	(2)	NA	1.5	Little	Significant	Major	Foreign reserves — Gabon, Brazil, Australia, India and Mexico.
Platinum group metals (South Africa)	60	50+	98	2.0	Little	Significant	Major	Foreign reserves — Zimbabwe. Recycling of up to 70 % of major use as catalysts. Substitution in non-essential uses (especially jewellery in Japan).

Source: Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives. Ninety-Seventh Congress, First Session, 8 July 1981.

Table 2
SOUTH AFRICA: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND TRADE
(\$US Millions, except as noted)

	1982	1983	% change 1982-1983	1st 6 mths 1984
Exports excluding gold, FOB	9 331	9 193	-0,7	4 738
Gold exports	7 937	8 936	15,1	4 229
Exports to the US (US data)	1 967	2 017	3,1	1 570
Imports, FOB	16 564	14 322	-11,6	7 995
Imports from the US (US data)	2 368	2 129	-10,1	1 283
Trade balance with the US	-401	-112	n.a.	187
Overall trade balance	704	3 807	n.a.	972
Current account balance	-2 953	254	n.a.	-612
Gold and foreign exchange holding at Reserve Bank	3 971	4 082	15,1	3 897
US Direct Investment (US Billions, Book Value)	2 513	2 319	-7,1	—

Source: Economic Trends Report for South Africa, CERP0004

Table 3
UNITED STATES DISINVESTMENT TYPOLOGY

	Organizational Framework/ Affiliation	Behavioural Description	Ethnicity Membership	Ethnicity Appeal	Principal Base Target	Style	International Alliances	Est.	Publication
Interfaith Centre for Corporate Responsibility	Church/Religious Affiliated	Left Centre	White	White Liberal	Corporations and Congress	Protesting to Corporations	WCC	1968	Corporate Examiner
American Committee on Africa	Socio-Political	Left Radical	White — Black	White Liberal Black	Corporations and universities	Extra-Parliamentary	ANC, PAC SWAPO	1953	Action News
African-American Institute	Professional — Academic	Centre	White — Black	White Liberal Black	Corporations and Congress	Political Process	loosely SWAPO	1953	Report
Institute for Policy Studies	Professional — Academic	Left Radical	White	White Liberal Third World	Universities	Extra-Parliamentary	ANC UN	± 1963	—
Washington Office on Africa	Professional Academic	Left Centre	White	White Liberal Black	Congress	Political Process	WCC	1972	Washington Notes on Africa
UN Centre against Apartheid	Socio-Economic	Left Radical	Black Caribbean Asian	Black Third World	Corporations	Extra-Parliamentary	OAU SWAPO PLO, ANC	1967	
Transafrica	Socio-Political	Left	Black Caribbean Asian	White Liberal Black	Congress	Political Process	PLO, ANC, PAC	1977	—
South Africa Catalyst Project	College — University	Left Radical	Black Caribbean Asian	White Liberal Black	Corporations and universities	Extra-Parliamentary	UN, SWAPO	± 1977	'A Luta Continua' — The Struggle Continues

Coalition for a new foreign and military policy	Socio-Political	Left Radical	White Black Caribbean Asian	White Liberal Black	Corporations Congress	Political Process & Demonstrations	SWAPO, ANC PAC	1976	Coalition close-up
American Friends Service Committee	Church Religious	Left Centre	White	White Liberal Black Third World	Corporations Universities	Political Process corporations Protesting	WCC SWAPO	1917	Quaker Service Bulletin
Clergy and Laity concerned	Church Religious	Left Radical	White Black	White Liberal Black	Corporations	Extra-parliamentary	WCC	1965	CALC Report
National Lawyers Guild	Professional Academic	Left Radical	White Black	White Liberal Black	Corporations	Political Process and Protesting to Corporations	No formal	1937	NLC Bulletin
Campaign to oppose Bank Loans to South Africa	Socio-Political	Left Radical	White Black	White Liberal Black	Banks	Picket lines Forums & Protesting to Banks	No formal coalition of organizations	1977	Newsletter (8/year) and Brochures

Sources: Yearbook of International Organizations (21st Ed) 1984/85 K. Sauer München; New York Encyclopedia of Associations 1984 (18th Ed Gale Research Co. Detroit, Michigan)
The Disinvestment Movement in the US: A Strategic Analysis. The SA Foundation, Washington DC, 3 March 1980

SOUTH AFRICA

SUCCESS, IMPACT OF CONSUMER BOYCOTTS REVIEWED

Johannesburg WORK IN PROGRESS in English Oct 85 pp 9-30

[Reports by Ingrid Obery and Karen Jochelson: "Industry and Government: 'Two Sides of the Same Bloody Coin'"]

[Text] An early consumer boycott pamphlet was headlined "Industry and Government: Two Sides of the Same Bloody Coin." It set out the central aim of the boycott: forcing business into persuading government to meet the boycotters' demands. Ingrid Obery looks at the boycott in the Eastern and Western Cape, and Karen Jochelson reports on its course in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

The consumer boycott tactic has a long tradition in South African protest politics. But all organisers involved in the current boycott, underway since mid-July in areas which first undertook it, assert that it goes beyond previous campaigns.

Most consumer boycotts in recent years were union-initiated responses to industrial disputes, and focused on one product or manufacturer. The current boycott call originated with community organisations, and put forward explicitly political national demands: lifting the state of emergency, removing police and army from townships and the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

In some cases, these were supplemented by specific local demands. Common additions concerned democratic Student Representative Councils and demands aimed at local government. FOSATU added a national demand for political rights for all.

In most regions, the boycott was initially called by the UDF or affiliated organisations. It began piecemeal in a number of small Cape towns, but broader political demands were made for the first time when it took off in Port Elizabeth in mid-July. During the next month, it spread to the rest of the Eastern Cape - where it is still most successful - to the Western Cape, the Transvaal and Natal.

In all major centres, unions unaffiliated to the UDF were drawn into boycott organisation. While most objected to the way this was done, all unions gave their support to the campaign. A FOSATU Branch Executive Committee in the Transvaal recommended on 28 July that FOSATU initiate a consumer boycott of all white shops that would end with a national stayaway. The recommendations were discussed by FOSATU's Joint Central Committee in Durban on 3 August, and all regions agreed to canvass them in their

factories.

A FOSATU report-back on 17 August was attended by representatives from the General Workers Union, Food and Canning Workers Union, National Union of Mineworkers, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA, and the Cape Town Municipal Workers Association. It was agreed that the duration of the boycott would be subject to monthly review, and a national co-ordinating committee was appointed to organise and monitor it regionally. In most areas unions were then drawn into local consumer boycott committees, together with community organisations and youth groups.

Challenges, Tactics, and Strategy

The boycott poses challenges not only to the state and big business, but also to the boycotters themselves.

Organisations involved have different views about the boycott's role and potential. Some see it as merely a more developed form of protest action designed to make big business aware of its political responsibilities, while others see it as a direct challenge to the country's economy.

The boycott aims to 'pressurise business to pressurise the government' into faster change. Business is expressly not seen as a mediator. Rather it is a constituency with political influence on the government.

As the boycott has progressed, targets broadened from white business to include 'sell-outs' - those African, coloured and Indian businessmen who participate in government through black local authorities, management committees or one of the houses of parliament.

In effect, the call to boycott white business, while directing people to buy in 'their own areas', does define the campaign racially. As a Pretoria FOSATU organiser said: 'The boycott does feed on an anti-white sentiment in the townships. People see whites as the problem'. A Johannesburg UDF

spokesperson added: 'Whites always complain that they don't know what is going on in the townships. The boycott aims to make them aware of what is going on so that they can begin to demand change too.'

But a boycott of white and collaborator shops has often left people with little or no choice of where to buy, particularly in areas where many outlets have been burnt, or where there are no alternate shops. Such circumstances led some Western Cape unions to criticise the tactic of a general boycott: they felt targets should be specific and easily identifiable.

Non-collaborator Indian and coloured shops were generally exempt from the boycott. But Indian businesses in Grahamstown and Johannesburg central business areas are in effect subject to boycott, since consumers travelling into the townships cannot prove they have bought from acceptable outlets. Boycott organisers felt that businessmen who supported the struggle would be willing to make sacrifices, and said of those who expressed dissatisfaction that 'it was time they realised they were also black'.

Class Alliance

Class alliances are a crucial and ambiguous issue in the boycott.

A current problem, posed by both UDF Port Elizabeth general secretary Derrick Swartz as well as a number of unionists, is the class basis and content of some progressive organisations. Swartz pointed out that 'there have been criticisms of the "popular" nature of our strategies and campaigns which did not emphasise the class nature of our struggle.' He added that currently students and youth tended to dominate organisations. 'Although many of them do come from the working class, they have a natural populist tendency. Workers have the experience which youth do not have.'

While the boycott certainly has the potential to politicise communities, Swartz was practical in his assessment: 'This is definitely not a revolutionary moment. The central problem at the moment is the lack of structured working class leadership and organisations to determine the pace and nature of our struggle. Political and community organisations dictate the struggle at the moment. The question is not merely that of achieving governmental political power, but the basis of the structure of our new society.'

This does not reflect the attitude of most UDF organisers. An East London consumer boycott committee member said: 'The boycott brings together workers, students, church people, businessmen and the rural communities into practical action against government and its policies. For purposes of immediate mobilisation this form of unity is crucial and we are committed to maintain it. This class alliance, together with other forms of democratic struggle, must inevitably shake the government.'

This implies a fairly good relationship with, for example, township shopkeepers. Similarly in the Western Cape, the Western Cape Traders Association is a UDF affiliate and

appears to be actively supporting the campaign with financial contributions and lower prices on basic foodstuffs.

Transvaal UDF representatives say that one of the aims of the boycott is to form an alliance with the black middle class, though it should be subject to popular discipline.

Most unions expressed reservations about this alliance, particularly where township traders' prices have remained high or have increased. A union spokesperson in Cape Town said, 'In these cases workers become cynical and ask why they should fill the pockets of township traders who do not support their demands or campaigns.' And according to another unionist, 'The union's credibility with workers is at stake if township prices stay high. They will question the motives of the people calling for the boycott'.

Apart from trade unionists, Swartz was the most critical of such an alliance. While he believes that 'it is a necessary strategy', he points out that the traders' support is premised on personal profit: 'They knew they would make a lot of money. We should never misunderstand their motives for supporting the boycott. Their role remains determined by their class position'.

The different interests at play are made clear by the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce. As Gabriel Mokgoko, NAFCOC national organiser and public relations co-ordinator, put it: 'We support the lifting of the state of emergency because we are conscious of what it does to us as businessmen and to our community. We can't stay aloof from calls against the state of emergency otherwise we are seen as part of the system'. For Richard Nkosi, assistant editor of African Business, the official NAFCOC journal, black business is 'the vanguard for change'.

Different Regional Effects

Clearly the boycott has been far more successful in some areas than in others. A snap survey of supermarket, furniture, clothing and liquor chains showed that most had been hit hardest in the Eastern Cape, particularly in Port Elizabeth, East London, Queenstown and King Williamstown, and to a lesser extent in the Western Cape. The Transvaal as yet seems almost unaffected.

In the Eastern Cape the boycott has reduced turnovers to below 50% of normal, and in some cases to less than 25%. The local chambers of commerce admit to up to 100% support for the boycott. Many small businesses have closed as a result of the boycott's effects on top of the recession.

Large chains are also affected, though many will not admit to it. One which did, Hepworths, a clothing store group with a dozen outlets in the Eastern Cape and several in Pretoria, went into provisional liquidation in the first week of October.

Violence and Intimidation

The consumer boycott takes place in the context of heightened politicisation and militancy, escalation of police and army violence and responsive violence within the communities. State media has stressed black-on-black violence and argued that a select few terrorise normally peace-loving black communities.

There have been incidents of intimidation and violence around the boycott, but it appears that in areas where it is 100% successful, such incidents are few and support for the boycott is largely voluntary. Recently there have been reports of increased intimidation in Soweto and Port Elizabeth.

UDF leadership admits that people have

Eastern Cape activists and trade unionists attribute the success of the boycott to the history of resistance and organisation in the area, and to the fact that Port Elizabeth and East London are relatively compact towns with easily identifiable shopping areas. In contrast, the reef and the Western Cape sprawl over vast areas, with large populations, looser social cohesion and many more retail outlets.

Some but not all groups involved in boycott organisation recognise the boycott's regional specificity. Unions involved in the new union federation directed their regional branches to support the boycott in a way appropriate to the specific conditions in their areas.

So in the Western Cape, while the UDF hoped to replicate Eastern Cape successes with a broad boycott, it was outvoted by the unions and other community groups in favour of a selective boycott which they considered more appropriate for the area.

been forced to eat detergent, raw chicken and rice, or to drink cooking oil. But it maintains that most of these incidents are perpetrated by unaligned youth. A few community and labour leaders felt the youth was often uncontrollable, but others felt that 'people will have to learn the hard way'.

Even within the Eastern Cape communities, there are unpoliticised people who keep the boycott out of fear, or who do not know about it and attempt to shop in town. There are certainly many more such people in the Transvaal, Western Cape and Durban, where political organisation is more diffuse.

On 20 August, 80 representatives of commerce and the retail sector met in Johannesburg to discuss the implications for business of the emergency, stayaways and the consumer boycott. They stated their willingness to talk to black leaders about grievances, but stressed that they would take action to neutralise the effects of the boycott.

While many organisers continue to see the consumer boycott as a foolproof tactic, it is proving to have drawbacks. An immediate problem is that workers face retrenchment and short time, particularly in the Eastern Cape. The Queenstown and East London Chambers of Commerce have threatened to cut employees' wages by 80% in a bid to end the boycott. The Chambers were granted exemption from wage determinations (which rule that employers may not pay workers on short-time less than two-thirds of their full wage), to enable members to cut wages and hours to 20%. Other Chambers indicated that they may also apply for exemption.

Unions are unlikely to ignore this, and strike action is likely. The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA (CCAWUSA), for instance, supported the boycott on the understanding that other federation unions would take solidarity action if its workers were retrenched as a result of the boycott.

Consumer boycott organisers believe business has a political role. They feel that if apartheid structures and practices no longer serve capital's needs and interests, it will demand change. Organisers said business was aware that even if the boycott did not succeed, other tactics could be used. A national stayaway, for example, is easier to organise and would hit capital far harder.

Business leaders, however, see their new political role as dictators of the

pace and practice of change. For them, the survival of the free enterprise system is at stake. In a statement to the United Nations hearings on transnational corporations in South Africa in mid-September, South African big business defined its role as 'active agents for positive change'. Signatories to the statement were the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCOM), NAFCOC, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Urban Foundation.

Business strategy to accelerate the reform process included the creation of a 'business charter' to outline its objectives for power sharing and black advancement. A step in this direction was the publication of a full-page advertisement, entitled 'There Is A Better Way', in leading national newspapers.

Signed by heads of companies such as Pick 'n Pay, the Nedbank Group, the Premier Group, JCI, Argus and Anglo American Properties, it declared that the reform process should be accelerated by the abolition of statutory race discrimination, negotiation on power sharing with acknowledged black leaders, granting of full citizenship to all, and restoration and entrenchment of the rule of law. Necessary moves to strengthen free enterprise included economic privatisation, the removal of influx control and pass laws, a 'more cost-effective' decentralisation policy and improved education and living conditions for blacks.

Similarly, the hard-pressed Cradock Employers Federation initiated a meeting of Eastern Cape businessmen in early September. It set out seven demands to be presented to President PW Botha and Minister of Constitutional Affairs Chris Heunis: negotiation with recognised black leaders, concern about SADF action in townships, that the state of

emergency be lifted soon, free trading rights instituted, and a single, equal education system established. Local businessmen support the demand that detainees be released, but have not come out publicly on this.

Another strategy to foster the politics of negotiation, rather than violent change, is business's participation in 'behind the scenes mediation' during what is seen as a 'pre-negotiation stage'. The meeting between leading businessmen and the ANC in Zambia was perhaps an overture. But the bomb blasts on 27 September in three Durban supermarkets, also boycott targets, for which the ANC claimed responsibility, indicate that the ANC is still committed to its policy of supporting political mass action with armed struggle.

Port Elizabeth--Spontaneous Community Action

The first major urban focus of consumer boycott action, Port Elizabeth, has seen almost total community support for the campaign since it began on 15 July. Within two weeks of its beginning, a Progressive Federal Party (PFP) survey of small retailers revealed that two had already closed; and 32 of the 43 interviewed gave figures indicating turnover drop of 80-100%.

Initiative for the boycott came in early July from a group of township women, which grew from an initial 150 to 700. A number were members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO), but many were unaligned. They were angry about police brutality, the state of emergency, township conditions and the infighting between the UDF and AZAPO. The community's energy should be directed at the oppressors, they said.

Local community activists and leaders were hesitant about taking boycott

action, and this was debated thoroughly. Would such action advance the struggle, and could enough support be mobilised?

Community organisers felt they could not ignore spontaneous action from their constituents. But they had to ensure it took a constructive political direction, and that organisational strength and depth were improved in the process. They argued that the boycott should be organised under the banner of recognised organisations.

The UDF and its affiliates took the lead in discussing tactics and calling the boycott. Once the Consumer Boycott Committee was set up, non-UDF unions were invited to participate.

The 'conglomeration of township organisations' which initially made up the Consumer Boycott Committee were the UDF, PEBCO, PEYCO, COSAS (until it was banned), the Eastern Province Dance Association, various organisations from Port Elizabeth's northern areas, and the UDF-affiliated Motor Assemblers and

Components Workers Union of SA (MACWUSA) and General Workers Union of SA (GWUSA). Unions not affiliated to the UDF sent representatives to the committee, once asked.

The group of women were eager to begin the boycott immediately, and there appeared to be fairly widespread support for it. UDF leaders argued that the boycott had to be well publicised, the community mobilised around the call, and clear demands and strategies set out.

Derrick Swartz, local UDF general secretary, explained that the climate of heightened militancy and anger resulted in immediate support for the idea.

'Because we had won the support of the community in the past, many sport bodies, church organisations and community bodies joined the committee. Rank-and-file workers also appeared to give full support.' But, he added, the disappearance of PEBCO leadership, detentions, and the organisational demands of the Goniwe funeral meant that remaining leadership was stretched very thin.

As a result, Swartz admitted, there was a time lapse before unions were drawn into the committee. Unions' aloofness from political activity was exacerbated by the split over the March stayaway (see WIP 37). This 'is a stumbling block to welding alliances with the most important working class organisations', said Swartz.

In the event, unions were presented

with an already established situation, which they could choose to support or reject.

Following the national decision by non-UDF unions to participate in the consumer boycott, local branches gave their support, albeit with reservations. A General Workers Union (GWU) spokesperson said, 'Workers know that unions do not just follow community organisations' decisions. But we have told our members that if community organisations do call meetings, they should go and participate fully. Some shop stewards were also elected to go to PEBCO and other local community organisations to discuss union proposals.'

Spreading the word about the boycott was fairly easy, according to Swartz. It was discussed and publicised mainly at funerals, which were often attended by up to 60 000 people, and at mass meetings.

According to Swartz, 'We did tell people that town centres would be monitored and those who broke the boycott would be spoken to. But there is such a level of militancy that we cannot control everyone. We have spoken to activists and explained that the state would be keen to publicise incidents of intimidation and we should not open ourselves to discredit. Participation should be based on commitment and understanding.'

Local Demands

Aside from the three major political demands - police and army out of townships, an end to the state of emergency, and release of detainees - the most important local demand is for boycott leaders to be released from jail or given immunity from arrest or harassment if they come out of hiding. Against the background of mysterious

deaths and disappearances of local community leaders, many community activists live in fear of their lives.

Other local demands concern the removal of a racist superintendent at the hospital in Doringenza, proper medical treatment for township residents and non-interference in hospitals by police.

Success Despite Harrassment

On 2 August, boycott committee spokesperson Mkhoseli Jack was arrested under emergency regulations. This was the first instance of action directed specifically against the committee. It has generally had to operate underground, as members are harassed and arrested as soon as they become known to police. By 15 August the committee was effectively immobilised, and member organisations decided to elect a new one which could work more openly. At the same meeting the committee decided to extend the boycott for a further two months because no demands had been met. The campaign lagged slightly in late August but in early September was again extended - now until after Christmas.

Some newspapers reported that white employers were shopping for their domestic servants. Other reports stated that 600 000 people in East London, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage alone were boycotting shops, some of which in desperation were offering 50% discounts on clothes and furniture.

The boycott has had close to 100% success. This claim by boycott organisers is supported by statements

from local business and the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce. The extent to which Port Elizabeth streets remain bare of black shoppers cannot solely be explained, as police and SADF claim, by intimidation.

As in most other centres, there are incidents of intimidation to enforce the boycott, but these are not sufficiently widespread to account for the scale of support. Conversely, union sources allege that police and SADF members have forced boycotters to buy from white shops.

Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, explains popular support for the boycott as a result of wider problems in the townships. Boycott and general unrest are 'all part of the question of black aspirations and frustrations,' he said. He believes the boycott may continue for some time, and that many of the boycott demands are perfectly reasonable. 'People are asking for a fair stake in South Africa, and the underlying causes of the disturbances will not be solved by security action alone.'

Political Gains

While some local demands may yet be met, as in East London, this is by no means certain in Port Elizabeth. Prospects are still dimmer for the realisation of broader political demands. 'It all depends on people's strength to hold out,' said Swartz. 'But the state is arrogant, and feels that giving in to demands would be a sign of weakness, though the boycott is hurting their pet project - the small businessman.'

Swartz explained that one of the most important effects of the boycott was that it could 'pose real challenges to big capital and exploit further the existing contradictions between big capital and the state.'

East London--No Gap for the Enemy

A Border Consumer Boycott Committee pamphlet headed 'Industry and Government - two sides of the same bloody coin', called for the boycott to begin on 29 July.

The regional general council of the UDF decided to call the boycott, in solidarity with Port Elizabeth and in response to local conditions. Together with a number of local affiliates, it formed the Border Consumer Boycott Committee on 22 July.

Local demands were that hawkers be allowed to trade in town, that halls in the white areas be made available for meetings, that democratic student representative councils be permitted, that forced removals be ended and that Duncan Village, a township on the edge of East London, be reprieved from proposed incorporation into the Ciskei.

From early August, local businessmen were willing to negotiate through the Chamber of Commerce. 'The business community has seen the power of the consumer boycott', said Harold Winearls, chairman of the Retailers Committee of the East London Chamber of Commerce.

In mid-August the Chamber air-dropped

a pamphlet over Duncan Village. It appealed to the 'proud Xhosa nation' to stand together and not be intimidated by a radical minority. This statement, representing the more conservative wing of the Chamber, also stated its willingness to negotiate and urged the government to end forced removals, to reprieve and upgrade Duncan Village and to license hawkers.

By the end of the month, the city council had reversed the ban on fruit and vegetable hawkers, promising that stalls would be erected for them. Winearls, representing a more liberal view, argued for opening halls to all races, and condemned detention and harassment of black leaders. 'The township people must be part of any planning for the future. I think the boycott committee is ready to talk but they are all forced into hiding', he said.

By late September, the all-white North End Traders Association was urging that black traders be allowed to trade freely in the area. Sixteen shops in the area were forced to close as a result of the boycott.

Problems of Violence

According to the boycott committee, monitoring the boycott is a community responsibility and everyone is committed to the action. They 'see it as their own, and those who somehow missed the call are being gently persuaded to fall in line', a committee statement said.

An activist added that rank and file often took it upon themselves to discipline people. But, he said, the extensive support for the call 'caught activists with their pants down, as we did not know if people were ready for such a tactic. There has also been unexpected support from the coloured

areas'.

However a South African Council for Higher Education (SACHED) worker said the 'criminal element' was a problem. It stopped delivery vehicles coming into the township, a coldrink truck was attacked in Mdantsane and there was looting in Duncan Village. 'The UDF has issued a pamphlet telling people to stop this kind of thing, saying that we should not burn our schools and houses - that we must keep a good image for the consumer boycott, giving no gap to the enemy', he said.

Union Support

East London's trade unions have suffered years of state harassment. It is the hometown of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), and other unions are as yet small. As a UDF affiliate, SAAWU was party to boycott discussions from the start.

'In this boycott workers cannot be seen apart from the rest of the community. They are in fact the spearhead of any move by the people to drive sense into the heads of the clique in Pretoria', said a boycott committee spokesperson.

As in Port Elizabeth however, unions outside of the UDF felt the process of taking the decision to boycott had been less than democratic. David Tandani of the General Workers Union explained that 'Non-(UDF) affiliated organisations appreciated the invitation to the meeting on 22 July. But we queried the stage at which we had been invited, since for such a campaign to succeed all

organisations should be there from scratch'. He said that a problem was that UDF often took decisions which affected workers.

A committee spokesperson said the boycott was canvassed for some time in trains, buses and churches 'and in all instances the people felt that the action was long overdue'. But unions felt that there was too little time to spread the word to members, though the word did spread fast: 'In fact it has strengthened organisation and some factory canteens are being boycotted. As a result more workers became interested in trade unions', said Tandani.

A community activist admitted that there were problems with 'the way we mobilised. The unions were more systematic.' But this was overcome through the traditional information networks in East London. 'The trains are most important since the bus boycott in 1983.'

Objectives

People were called upon to boycott the shops in the Central Business District. The aim, as a boycott committee member said, was not to pressure 'business to negotiate for us. They must take sides in the struggle between us and the racist minority they voted into power'.

In the long term, 'the retailer's demise will in turn affect the manufacturer, and in the long business chain the big men will be affected,' said a committee spokesperson.

Those coloured, Indian and African businessmen who supported the tricameral system were also boycotted. 'They are part and parcel of the policing and murdering of our people'.

Tandani pointed out that councillors' shops tended to be burned down before they could be boycotted. An activist said the boycott of 'sell-out' shops was largely informal. 'We have to deal with different enemies at different levels.

It is difficult because often these are the shops which give credit.'

The Checkers branch in Mdantsane is not a boycott target, for largely tactical reasons - it provides people with a source of basic commodities, and means that township residents will be willing and able to continue the boycott for a long period. As it is, people have difficulty getting appliances repaired and there are outlets from which to buy clothes and furniture.

Ironically, Ciskei President Lennox Sebe came out in support of the boycott and urged township traders to keep prices down. Tandani commented: 'Sebe can never change his colours. He never supports workers' campaigns. He was trying to help Mdantsane's black businessmen by telling them to be good to the people so that they were not forgotten after the boycott'.

Traders Cooperate

The committee claims to have a working relationship with township traders on issues such as prices. If wholesalers refuse to supply township outlets, the committee will not negotiate: 'We shall devise an even harder blow against business but we will not disclose the nature of this weapon'.

Duncan Village shopkeepers have allegedly been severely harassed and threatened by police. Shebeens, previously ignored, are now often

raided.

A few Indian traders are apparently considering resignation from the Indian management committee, and have enquired about becoming involved in the UDF. 'We know this is motivated by profits, but the UDF will discuss it', said an activist, but added that ongoing negotiations were difficult because leaders were afraid of exposing themselves and did not fully trust the traders.

Political Gains

'The consumer boycott has helped people transcend petty differences', said a local SACHED advice office worker. 'We now have to consolidate these gains. And with leaders underground this is difficult. Organisations cannot be controlled. I hope that students, for example, are learning the lessons about organisation - they have often made themselves easy targets in the past.'

'This boycott is an action that all people can participate in as individuals - they can make their own decisions',

said an activist. Most of the demands may not be met, he said, but if people realise what the state is like they will be willing to struggle further.

One immediate gain, he said, was that people were demanding to be included in organisations. 'The Duncan Village Residents Association is going to be re-launched with a concrete programme of action, coloured areas are discussing the idea of civics, and youth organisations have many new members. The problem is how long these structures can survive without experienced leadership.'

Western Cape--Alliance With Traders

The success of the Western Cape consumer boycott is far more ambiguous than that in the Eastern Cape.

The boycott call originated in July, when an anonymous pamphlet appeared in black townships calling on people not to buy outside the townships. UDF township affiliates then called on other affiliated organisations to extend the boycott to their own areas.

The Western Cape Consumer Action Committee was formed at a UDF co-ordinated meeting at the beginning of August. Participant organisations included the unions not affiliated to the UDF, the Cape Action League (CAL), Western Province Council of Sport (WPCOS), Thornhill Residents' and Youth

Associations, the Western Cape Youth League (WCYL), the Retail and Allied Workers Union (RAWU), the Clothing Workers Union (CLOWU), The Call of Islam, the Western Province Council of Churches, New Unity Movement (NUM), Al Jihaad, the Plastic and Allied Workers Union, Sarepta Youth and Workers Organisation, District Six Interim Youth Movement, the AME Ministers Alliance, the Federation of Cape Civics and the Western Cape Students Action Committee.

Following the meeting, these organisations canvassed the boycott with their constituents, and a boycott of white retailers was officially launched on 14 August.

The Consumer Action Committee urged

participant organisations to co-operate and form local committees overseeing day-to-day running of the boycott. Seventeen areas were named as targets, and by 7 September eight local committees had been set up in Bellville, Athlone, Woodstock, Bokaap, Elsies River, Ravensmead, Wynberg and Mitchells Plain.

Union Support

As in the Eastern Cape, non-UDF unions were informed after the initial decision to launch the consumer boycott had been taken. A leading Cape Town unionist said that the unions had met to discuss problems, which included the racist nature of the call, and the fact that it excluded shops, particularly in coloured and Indian areas, where most traders were participants in government structures.

'A fair number of workers said they did not want to be told where they could buy, and that there was a danger of workers losing their jobs. Some believed a boycott should be a last resort after worker action, but we said a better solution was to redirect the existing boycott in a better direction,' a union organiser said.

Boycott Targets

The initial call was for a boycott of all white and 'sell-out' shops: 'White voters put this government into power and now they must pressurise them to meet our demands,' a community activist said.

Objections to this blanket call emerged, however, with some organisations on the Consumer Action Committee arguing that it had racist overtones and was impractical, in that many workers did not have access to black shops during shopping hours. Widespread inability to support the

boycott would generate disunity, they felt.

On 25 August this grouping, which included the non-UDF unions and organisations connected to the New Unity Movement, proposed a selective boycott of national chain stores. They argued that big business has most influence with government, and belongs to bodies such as the Association of Chambers of Commerce, which supported the declaration of the state of emergency.

UDF-linked organisations argued in favour of a general boycott, along the

lines of boycotts in other centres. They felt that people would be confused if the call was changed, and claimed that small businessmen also have political clout.

On 8 September, a vote in the Consumer Action Committee resulted in adoption of a selective boycott. A total of 19 shops, including major chainstores and some large local shops, were targeted for boycott.

A drawback was that some area committees confused the new list of shops to be boycotted, and provided no explanation as to why the boycott had been redirected.

The UDF remains unhappy about the change. According to UDF interim executive member Naseeg Jaffer, 'We will motivate for the decision to be reviewed on the basis that public meetings supported a broad boycott'. The UDF favours a 'targeted' boycott - in effect a general boycott with specific shops named as targets.

Jaffer maintains that this strategy accommodates union arguments, since 'if area conditions are such that people

have to buy from white shops, then they should do so.'

But unionists argue that workers would be subject to intimidation in terms of such a strategy. 'There is a fair amount of fear and there are definitely some arbitrary groups who try to enforce the boycott', said a union organiser.

As one unionist noted, there is now considerable confusion about reasons for the boycott. 'If the situation is not improved, people will turn against it. People wanting to shop will work out their own protection from those who want to stop them. And there is vandalism when searching people in the name of the boycott.'

At a boycott committee meeting on 6 October the UDF intended to propose a broad boycott of white shops where each region would decide if any shops were to be exempted. However, most union representatives did not attend the meeting. The New Unity Movement remained firm in insisting that a selective boycott be continued. A meeting between UDF and unions is planned but it seems unlikely that the union position has changed.

Demands

Demands concern lifting the state of emergency, withdrawing the SADF and police from the townships, releasing political prisoners and detainees, lowering prices on basic foodstuffs, paying a living wage to every worker, and instituting a single parliament in a unitary and democratic South Africa.

'We are likely to call off the boycott if short-term demands - like lifting the state of emergency, that big business keeps prices of basic foods down, troops out of the townships and the release of

detainees - are met', said Jaffer. He added that the boycott's duration also depended on people's ability to sustain it.

There is hope that some demands may be realised: 'The emergency has backfired on the state, and it is possible that big business could call for it to be lifted. Also getting the SADF out of the townships and freeing some detainees are not unrealisable in the present context of generalised political crisis', one unionist said.

Traders Cooperation

The Western Cape Traders Association, a UDF affiliate, was called on to support the boycott. It was told members would be boycotted if they raised prices. The Association was co-operative: 'They have produced a poster listing static prices on basic goods,' said Jaffer.

The Western Cape Traders Association has advertised its support for the boycott in local newspapers, and

produces a newsletter carrying statements from the UDF and the New Unity Movement. It has promised to supply carry-bags printed with boycott demands.

To minimise state harassment of delivery vehicles, traders propose co-operative bulk buying and delivery to ensure they all get supplies.

Political Gains

The consumer boycott has had sporadic success in the Western Cape. The UDF claims success, particularly in working-class areas like Mitchells Plain, Mannenberg, Bonteheuwel, Bellville and the African townships. Lack of success in other areas is due to 'low levels of organisation so that people do not get the feeling they are participating in a mass action', Jaffer said. He admitted though that many activists had been drawn into the UDF and local organisations had suffered. The UDF consequently saw the need to decentralise and concentrate on local organisation.

Most unions are more cautious in claiming major successes. According to an organiser, 'There is no systematic monitoring of the situation so we have no clear idea of the degree of support. Monitoring is sporadic and impressionistic, and people's own desires probably affect their claims.'

Some impact is indicated by certain large chain stores' use of unmarked bags rather than those which advertise the shop, in an attempt to counteract the boycott. But Alan Lighton, director of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, denies any substantial effect in the Western Cape.

A unionist felt that there must be a drop in sales particularly in the furniture business: 'Now is the time of year people put down lay-bys in anticipation of Christmas bonuses. They can't do this now. And furniture shops cannot send trucks into the townships because they would be burned, and people are afraid to buy because they do not

want to see their new furniture burned.'

Another union organiser said that in many areas such as Bellville, boycott support work had been deflected by other activities. 'People had to resist the police presence, and a lot of time was taken up taking statements and dealing with the wounded.'

But this, together with the boycott, massively politicised the community in Bellville, the organiser said, and meetings are well attended by both youth and older people. 'Students are aware of the need to stand together with parents.'

A union leader raised problems about the Consumer Action Committee, saying that 'A large number of small activist organisations are able to overrule much larger representative groupings. Most activists are very young and think differently from older people. The committee is not based on working-class leadership. The most worrying thing is the potential clash between youth and workers if no time limit is set to the boycott.'

Both non-UDF unions and UDF affiliates in the Western Cape view the Consumer Action Committee as a vehicle for potential political unity. The last occasion when opposing groups were brought together in a formal structure was on the Disorderly Bills Action Committee in 1982. 'For the first time people are debating politics, lines and matters of policy and coming to compromise positions', according to Jaffer. But some unionists believe the spirit of co-operation may soon wear thin.

The Pretoria boycott was launched on 9 August by the Pretoria UDF Area Committee. The Consumer Boycott Committee (CBC) was supported by the Soshanguve Youth Organisation, Ga-Rankuwa Youth Organisation, COSAS, the Azanian Students Organisation, the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Association, the Soshanguve Residents Association, the Mamelodi Action Committee, the Zaheni Womens Club and by UDF-affiliated unions in the area including SAAWU, GWUSA, the Retail and Allied Workers Union and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA).

The boycott began on 10 August with a well-supported work stayaway. It was suspended on 26 August. Only then was the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) approached to join the committee, and is now involved in plans to rejuvenate the boycott.

To organise the boycott the CBC issued pamphlets and press statements. It contacted the Taxi Association, which helped distribute pamphlets and refused

to transport anyone with parcels from white shops to the township. In the townships, youths monitored the buses and removed and destroyed groceries bought in town.

The UDF maintains that the stayaway and consumer boycott were particularly successful in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, and to a lesser extent in Soshanguve. Success was very limited in Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane 'where there are fewer activists and people were not informed in time'.

The catalyst for the boycott, explains a UDF spokesperson for the CBC who does not wish to be named, was the death of Matthew Goniwe and three other UDF Eastern Cape leaders. This was aggravated by the detention and harassment of progressive activists, the declaration of the state of emergency and the continued refusal to meet the demands of protesting students: 'It was necessary to show the whites of Pretoria that we were dissatisfied with the government and its "reform" package and its refusal to examine our demands'.

Demands

BC demands were both national and local. The former included an end to harassment, detention and unexplained deaths and disappearance of activists; the unconditional release of political prisoners; the removal of police and UDF from the townships and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Also important was the demand that community councillors resign. Three councillors, including the mayor, resigned in Mamelodi, and the community hall was opened for meetings.

Other local demands concerned transport. In Soshanguve and Mabopane PUTCO's bus service was withdrawn, leaving the train as the only alternative. Residents felt that PUTCO provided a better service and demanded

its reinstatement.

Another demand concerned the Pretoria City Council's proposed removal of the taxi rank from the city centre to the outskirts of the city. With the support of the community the Taxi Association went to court where judgement went against the city council.

There is some confusion as to the boycott targets. The UDF is adamant that the boycott was aimed at big business rather than white business in general. But Martin Ndaba, area organiser for the FOSATU-affiliated National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), maintains the boycott feeds off an anti-white sentiment in the townships. It is thus perceived as being against white business and 'white fronts' (black

businesses with substantial white interests).

The UDF organisers are clear that the political stance of business has changed and that the consumer boycott is an attempt to capitalise on this. 'Business is beginning to push the government for change. It is realising it has a role to play in getting rid of racial discrimination, like influx control and gutter education, that has for so long served its interests. The boycott will also make white business realise that it can participate in the liberation struggle. Workers and bosses cannot do without each other and one always has to control the other. Ultimately it must be the workers.'

Community Union Relations

The organisation of the consumer boycott has brought old tensions into the open. The UDF organising committee argues that conflict over the May Day celebrations lay behind the fact that FOSATU was not initially approached to join the boycott committee: 'FOSATU only looked at workers' problems in a workers' environment and that is why we could not work together'.

Ndaba is aware that the UDF sees non-affiliated unions as conservative: 'The UDF views us as a moderate grouping which does not want to get involved in community struggles - as so-called workerists. So we are not invited to participate in projects they initiate.' But, he points out, the two groupings are currently attempting to bridge differences by once again trying to work together.

And FOSATU itself is changing: 'Our demand for political rights for all South Africans shows a fundamental change in the FOSATU stance. Previously we always said we would use our power at the point of production to bring about changes and reforms. Now we are using another kind of economic weapon to pressure the state and making openly political demands', explains Ndaba.

The UDF believes this shift in direction is due to the imminent formation of the new trade union federation.

There are additional tensions in the area between NAAWU and the United African Motor and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, a CUSA affiliate. This involves friction generated by the union unity talks and also by what NAAWU sees as poaching by the CUSA-affiliated union.

Boycott Evaluations

FOSATU and the UDF differ in their reactions to the stayaway and the effect of the boycott on the middle classes. The UDF cites the stayaway as successful. But Ndaba objects that NAAWU was not consulted and though the union decided to support it, it also negotiated with management to accept the stayaway days as layoff days to 'ensure the stayaway was supported

collectively'. Such agreements were made at Sigma and Silverton Engineering.

The effects of the boycott on the community are also perceived differently. The UDF spokesperson explained that 'people are more conscientised than before, and realise that apartheid and capitalism must be replaced with other ideologies and practices.'

Charles Nthite, acting regional secretary for NAAWU, is more cautious. 'The long-term goals of the consumer boycott are educative and conscientising. The aim is to mobilise the community against the terrible

actions of the government and to create a public conscience.'

Ndaba agrees: 'The boycott will change people's conceptions of the system, causing them, for example, to realise that the police and army are not peacekeepers or protectors and serve the state'.

The UDF spokesperson also argues that the boycott was important in showing the black middle class where their interests lie. 'The government created a black middle class which forgets the problems of its brothers and sisters. We need a strategy to counter this. The consumer boycott can create this unity.'

Ndaba is more dubious about the unifying potential of the boycott. 'Whether the middle class sees its interests allied with the working class depends on the individual. Many businessmen will support the boycott to make money and protect their business and property, not because they necessarily support the demands of the boycott.'

Relations With Traders

Boycott committee overtures to businessmen were rendered difficult as traders face pressure from the police. In Brits, a meeting was called by the CBC with local Indian businessmen to 'see who was against the system' in order not to boycott them. But police warned traders not to attend and the meeting was called off.

When the boycott was suspended on 26 August, organisers decided to draw up a price list to prevent traders 'ripping off customers'. A series of meetings was held with businessmen on 31 August, 5 September and 15 September, where traders agreed to try to compete with the wholesale prices.

The boycott committee has now regrouped but there is still confusion in the Pretoria townships as to whether the boycott is presently being observed or not.

Johannesburg--Tactical Differences

The boycott in the Johannesburg area has thusfar met with little success. But a UDF spokesperson on the boycott committee maintains that 'businesses will not admit to being hit, as they do not want to be alarmist. The media also plays it down or ignores it. But if you go into supermarkets you will see a decline in trade'.

National Forum (NF) secretary general Lusiba Ntloko is one of those who argues that until recently, 'the boycott committee was uncontrolled and unorganised. The UDF committee launched the consumer boycott without consulting

other organisations'.

A grouping of 16 UDF affiliates, including Young Christian Students, COSAS, the Azanian Students Organisation, the Release Mandela Committee, the Federation of Transvaal Women, the Anti-Presidents Council, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the End Conscription Campaign and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee began to discuss a consumer boycott early in July. They agreed to canvass support among other organisations, including the Council of Churches and the Domestic Workers and Employers Project.

Union Initiatives

Following the declaration of the state of emergency on 20 July, open organisation became more difficult, and resulted in oversights like the exclusion of the independent unions and other unaffiliated organisations. However, the UDF committee decided to call for a consumer boycott to start on 12 August.

Jethro Dlalisa of FOSATU's Transport and General Workers Union and secretary of the Johannesburg local shop stewards council, outlined events: 'Our Johannesburg local was not happy with the UDF boycott call because other organisations of the oppressed people and worker organisations were not consulted for co-operation. Nonetheless, we decided to support the call for the consumer boycott. But we felt the organisational base of the boycott needed to be broadened. On 7 September we held a meeting of representatives from the UDF, FOSATU, the NF, the Azanian Peoples Organisation, Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Food and Canning Workers Union and the National Union of Mineworkers to discuss

intensifying the boycott through the joint efforts of all political, trade union and civic organisations.'

The UDF boycott committee spokesperson, however, maintains that the UDF 'called on them when they were about to call on us. It is not important who called the campaign. If it is progressive then we will support it.'

Such a broad range of organisations made 'tactical differences' inevitable. Problems were aired at the first joint meeting on 7 September. They were resolved at a meeting a week later, when the Consumer Boycott Co-ordinating Committee was formed.

First came a disagreement over the structure of the committee. The UDF felt that in view of the security situation, no more than ten people should sit on the committee. The existing UDF committee consisted of seven people and FOSATU felt that an additional three representatives would not make it fully representative.

The solution was to create a sub-committee representing all organisations, responsible to the ten-person co-ordinating committee.

Another debate concerned allowing delivery trucks into the townships.

Dlalisa explained: 'We wanted the usual retailers to continue to deliver goods - if there is no supply of food to the townships then people will break the boycott. And once it is decided that trucks should not be hit, then there must be discipline'.

The UDF argued that trucks are immediate targets as they are white-owned and provoke frustration and anger 'from people who are not highly politicised but are concerned. It is not our duty to tell them not to stone or burn delivery trucks. We can only explain to them why. Businesses should get their own trucks and buy in bulk collectively. It would be an education for them too.'

At the heart of these disputes, it appears, lie different conceptions of struggle, one based on spontaneous mass action, the other on tight grassroots organisation. On monitoring and co-

ordinating the boycott, Dlalisa commented: 'Workers should be in control, because they are more disciplined and have structures to work through. They would not cause friction among the oppressed people.'

The NF agrees: 'Monitoring the boycott should not be left in the hands of the youth. Workers should assume a greater role - a new local structure should be established,' said Ntloko.

Though it participates in the committee, the NF is critical of the consumer boycott's potential as a tactic. Ntloko argues that it is reformist: 'A union fights for better conditions for workers within the confines of capitalism; it is not a revolutionary organisation. But a political organisation must fight for the overhaul of the status quo. The consumer boycott does not make any effective gains in terms of liberation.'

Demands and Objectives

During the first joint meeting the demands of the boycott were discussed. In addition to the three national demands, FOSATU argued for inclusion of the demand, adopted by all 'federation' unions, for political rights for all South Africans. It was finally agreed to leave it out as it was not immediately realisable.

The committee's UDF spokesperson explained that 'in earlier boycotts, demands were often too ambitious, such as the one calling for the dismantling of apartheid. Our demands are now short-term demands that can be met, and will give people a sense of achievement. This boycott is better organised and our goals are clearer'.

Another weakness the NF perceives is that the boycott of white business cannot be total: 'Black traders still have to buy from white stockists and manufacturers. White business can hit back, for example by withholding

supplies. If there is no food in the townships, people will quickly break the boycott.'

Consequently, the NF favours the stayaway as opposed to the consumer boycott tactic, arguing that the former 'can contribute to long-term change and employers cannot hit back. It shows that the country is dependent on the black working class and without it the country will crumble.'

The UDF spokesperson maintains that this argument is based on a misunderstanding of the aims of the consumer boycott - which are to conscientise the white community and establish an alliance with black businessmen.

'The boycott is a way of making the white community aware and concerned about what is happening in the townships. It may look racist, but this is because of the nature of apartheid. Whites must be conscientised about what

is happening in their country so they can demand change too'.

He adds that the boycott ties into the End Conscription Campaign as 'we are calling for the army to get out of the townships, and it is the whites whose children are in the townships.'

He argues that as the boycott is aimed at whites, it does not matter that black businessmen still buy from white retailers. Nor does it matter if the boycott hits the small white shopkeeper, rather than big business, hardest: 'They too vote for the government and have children in the army.' Dlalisa adds: 'If they lose a bit of income through the boycott it will force them to think

about what is happening. We want them to feel the pain and do something.'

UDF and unions agree that pressure on white business is central. The UDF spokesperson explained: 'Apartheid is made for white business. So if they feel it is no longer productive, they will change it.'

Dlalisa adds that white business knows that without black support it cannot survive. 'Revolution is coming and they need to secure their position'. But should white business refuse to negotiate with the government then 'we will go for a national stayaway which will hurt harder than the boycott.'

Relations With Traders

Township shops are notorious for overcharging. The boycott committee maintains that traders mark up their goods by 40%. Dlalisa agrees that the traders do profit from the boycott. 'Customers do suffer but they buy less and then only necessities. In any war situation there must be victims. We can make sacrifices for a better life.'

For the UDF spokesperson the role of black businessman in the boycott is far more significant. As a group they are isolated by apartheid, he argues, and their grievances make it possible for them to 'co-operate with us for now. The boycott is drawing them into the national democratic struggle. They do not have a good image, but we are trying to bring them under our discipline and sow division in the apartheid state.'

Political Gains

The UDF spokesperson maintains that UDF is spearheading the movement from 'organisation to mobilisation', taking people beyond protest politics, achieving a mass politicisation and clarification of popular goals which did not occur in 1976 or in the early 1980s.

'Among short-term gains, we can already see a change of mind amongst whites and the business sector. Even the

But alliance with the democratic movement must be on its own terms: 'They must lower their prices, accept that the status quo must change and play a constructive role by joining our existing organisations like civics.'

The boycott committee's first step in promoting this alliance was to meet black businessmen to ask them to reduce their prices and conform with a price list drawn up by the committee.

But after pledges of support were given in Tembisa, several businessmen were detained and seven shops closed down on 30 August in terms of emergency regulations. The traders were eventually released after the intervention of NAFCOC. To prevent further intimidation, meetings are now conducted with more caution.

government's increasingly frantic reform rhetoric shows the effect unrest is having. And their white constituency accepts the rhetoric at least.'

Dlalisa concludes that the boycott will build organisational strength and co-operation, enabling campaigns for long-term demands to be systematically undertaken.

Pietermaritzburg--Unions Take the Lead

YUNUS CARRIM gives an early impression of boycott events in Howick and Pietermaritzburg.

Possibly the most effective consumer boycott outside the Eastern Cape was in Pietermaritzburg. It was organised specifically around local demands: for the reinstatement of 950 BTR Sarmcol workers in Howick and the signing of a recognition agreement with their union, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Launched on 15 August and ended on 26 September, the boycott did not achieve these ends. But it demonstrated to a wide cross-section of white Pietermaritzburg the power of black consumers.

A survey by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce revealed that in the first two weeks of the boycott, white businesses experienced a 60-70% drop in turnover. This varied with the type and locality of business. Even John Oir's and The Hub, not highly reliant on black custom, admitted to a 15% drop. Most

large supermarket chains refused to comment and referred all queries to their head offices, which also gave no definite answers.

A MAWU spokesperson said a monitoring committee believed that the boycott of white businesses varied between 30% and 90%. Large supermarkets in the Indian area reported an average of 25% turnover increase. Indian businesses in the mainly white Central Business District and others in the Indian area of the city complained of lost turnover as the boycott kept consumers out of the city.

Despite few precise details, the boycott was clearly effective for at least three weeks. It then tapered off and was officially called off at the end of the sixth week. Organisations supporting it began discussions to end it in the fourth week.

Support for the boycott arose in the course of the sustained campaign over the preceding three and a half months by unions and community organisations to win the Sarmcol workers' struggle.

Sarmcol Dispute

On 30 April, 950 MAWU members went on strike at BTR Sarmcol in Howick (20 km from Pietermaritzburg). The dispute was over terms of a recognition agreement. On 3 May all 950 were fired, and at a mass meeting they launched a consumer boycott of all white businesses in Howick from 6 May. The objective was to cause business to pressurise Sarmcol to reinstate workers and recognise MAWU.

In Howick, a supermarket owner reported a 50% drop in takings in the first two days. One business closed and several others feared possible closure. A local businessman pleaded with strikers at a mass meeting not to treat him as white and donated R200 to their cause. Businessmen complained whites from outlying areas feared to come into town.

The boycott was successful because Howick is a small town with a cohesive, united black community and a strong MAWU presence. Sarmcol workers are a significant proportion of the township workforce and white business relies strongly on township custom.

But Sarmcol management refused to budge, and employed scab labour from Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas.

Taking their struggle to Pietermaritzburg, workers met community organisations and church groups to raise material and political support. Black, and particularly Indian, businessmen were approached for donations in cash or kind, and asked to provide basic groceries to the support fund at reasonable prices. Response was good.

The Pietermaritzburg public was forced

to notice the Sarmcol struggle, when during peak shopping hours on Saturday 29 June a convoy of ten buses of striking workers jammed main street traffic. Posters, leaflets and stickers were distributed to explain the struggle and appeal against scab labour.

On 6 July, at a 2 000-strong mass meeting, union and community organisation representatives endorsed a FOSATU proposal for a one-day stayaway if the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce did not get Sarmcol to negotiate with MAWU. It did not, and the stayaway took place on 18 July. Some 92% of African workers and 70% of all workers, including whites, stayed away. Township schools were boycotted and 80% of all black businesses were shut.

Debating Local Tactics

Momentum for the boycott came out of the preceeding months of struggle and was propelled by violent confrontations between people and police, and between strikers and scabs. Three were killed and scores arrested. Five strikers have been jailed for up to a year for 'violent intimidation'. Other cases are pending.

Added to the momentum was the declaration of the state of emergency, the UDF-proposed national consumer boycott, Victoria Mxenge's death, a schools' boycott and a defiant, militant youth.

The goal of the boycott was debated. The unions and the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA) supported a boycott based on the Sarmcol issue. The UDF and its affiliates felt that lifting of the state of emergency should be included as a demand immediately, to reflect the militant township mood. It argued for inclusion of a demand for the release of all detainees including those detained during the stayaway. The issues could not be separated, the UDF believed, and inclusion of such demands linked the

Still Sarmcol management would not budge. Unions and community organisations then discussed FOSATU's proposal for a consumer boycott. Because of this threat and the success of the stayaway, the town mayor and the Chamber of Commerce invited MAWU and community organisations to a meeting. MAWU was criticised for organising the stayaway and urged not to extend the struggle to Pietermaritzburg. Chamber representatives said they could not influence Sarmcol to meet the union, but agreed to try to set up a meeting between MAWU and the company. There was a meeting but Sarmcol rejected all MAWU's proposals. The consumer boycott went ahead.

union and political struggles. The UDF said that to mobilise maximum support, demands appealing to the widest number of people should be included.

The unions responded that if the Sarmcol and emergency demands were linked, Sarmcol management could respond that even if workers were reinstated, the boycott would continue until the emergency was lifted. Management would say pressure should be brought to bear on the government, rather than Sarmcol. MAWU also felt the Sarmcol struggle was at a crucial stage and needed intensified effort as management showed signs of giving in. MAWU stressed that it recognised that the state of emergency was a major issue, but a co-ordinated national strategy was necessary to combat it. Unions were discussing national action, and local unions had no mandate unilaterally to support a boycott over national issues.

MAWU argued that local dynamics should dictate the terms of the boycott. 'The specific way we combat the state of emergency is through the Sarmcol issue', said a union organiser.

Unions and the UDF compromised, deciding to launch a consumer boycott based on Sarmcol demands for the first ten days. It would then be reviewed to see if lifting the emergency and related issues should be added as demands. The boycott would begin on 15 August, and they set no date for its conclusion.

Organisations committed to the boycott were: FOSATU; CCAWUSA; GWU; the UDF and affiliates, especially COSAS, the Natal Indian Congress and various youth and civic organisations; National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA); Detainees Support Committee (DESCOM); APDUSA; the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM); Lawyers for Democracy; Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA); and the Pietermaritzburg Youth Cultural Society.

About 70 000 leaflets and 30 000

stickers in English and Zulu advertised the boycott of white business. Black businessmen were approached, informed of the boycott and asked not to use it as an opportunity to profiteer. They responded positively.

A monitoring committee representing unions and community organisations was set up. It administered the boycott in terms of mandates from weekly joint union and community meetings. Decisions at FOSATU shop steward council meetings provided direction for the joint meetings.

Several community organisations complained they had not been properly consulted during planning of the stayaway, but concerted consultation over the boycott between unions and community organisations helped alleviate these tensions.

The Boycott Spreads

Pietermaritzburg is a relatively small town and most white business is situated in a central business district. There are a fair number of alternative black businesses even though they do not match white business in variety or prices.

On 24 August a 2 500-strong mass meeting endorsed continuation of the boycott based on the Sarmcol issue. On 2 September, largely on FOSATU and other unions' initiative, consumer boycotts were launched in Durban, Pinetown and Hammarisdale to oppose the state of emergency and related issues. These boycotts did not take up the demands of the Sarmcol workers. In the event, the Pietermaritzburg boycott never formally included demands relating to the state of emergency. But as other Natal union branches did, popular perception probably linked the Pietermaritzburg boycott with the state of emergency.

The Durban boycott appears to have been least effective, but it was evidently successful in Hammarisdale and particularly in Pinetown. The crisis in Inanda, the confrontations between

Inkatha and progressive township organisations and the spate of arrests of activists contributed to limiting the boycott's success in Durban. It was called off on 6 October.

By the time the Durban boycott was called, the Pietermaritzburg boycott was flagging. After the mass meeting on 24 August, there were no further attempts to consolidate it. Money had run out, and township community organisations were in disarray. Confrontations with police and the need to escape detention hampered activists. And confrontations with Inkatha took a severe toll. Many activists fled their homes and open campaigning around the boycott was impossible.

Inkatha was not prepared to support the boycott because it had not been consulted, but did say that it sympathised with the plight of the Sarmcol workers. It believed consumer boycotts were a legitimate and powerful non-violent strategy but said the time was not right. Inkatha said a boycott had to be nationally co-ordinated and

planned and must have majority support.

The Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, an organisation of businessmen affiliated to Inkatha, was stridently against the boycott. Its president, PG Gumede, 'declared war' on FOSATU and called on Inkatha in Pietermaritzburg to 'crush' the boycott. He urged consumers to 'flock' to the city centre on Saturday 28 September, assuring them that Inkatha would protect them against 'intimidation'. Gumede said KwaZulu's Chief Buthelezi made it plain that FOSATU's persistence with the boycott was a challenge to Inkatha and to his own leadership.

The Pietermaritzburg chairman of Inkatha and secretary of Inyanda

disassociated themselves from Gumede's statements. But the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce local secretary had said earlier that Inyanda did not support the boycott. African traders did not benefit but Indian traders did, he said.

A pamphlet jointly produced by the the Pietermaritzburg City Council, the Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaanse Sakekamer was air-dropped over African townships. Entitled 'Boycotts Harm You', it stressed that boycotts 'hurt you and your family first', drive business away and lead to price increases and unemployment. Four editorials over seven weeks in the *Natal Witness* echoed the same sentiment and repeatedly suggested that intimidation was endemic to consumer boycotts.

Ending the Boycott

The boycott was called off on 26 September, after two weeks of discussions. Organisations involved in it stressed that they had not succumbed to Gumede's threats. In the discussions CCAWUSA workers said management had threatened them with retrenchments if the boycott persisted. They suggested calling off the boycott and organising another stayaway in which CCAWUSA members would not be singled out for victimisation. But already the boycott was beginning to peter out, and there was no sign that the Sarmcol management was prepared to give in.

At a meeting on 19 September, the majority of union members suggested that the boycott be called off. The UDF felt that this would discourage those boycotting in other areas, and suggested that it be revitalised. The unions argued that local dynamics should dictate whether the boycott continued or not, but the UDF was asked to investigate the possibility of financing the necessary leaflets and investing more energy into the campaign. But at the next meeting on 24 September, the UDF agreed with other organisations that the boycott be called off.

Some 30 000 leaflets were distributed informing people of the end of the boycott. The leaflet was reproduced as an advertisement in the *Natal Witness*. It said that 'the boycott has achieved one of its main objectives - namely to focus attention on the struggle of the Sarmcol workers, and no useful purpose is to be served by prolonging it. At the appropriate time we will decide to resume the boycott should we consider it to be in the interests of the Sarmcol workers'.

White businesses were clearly jolted by the boycott and did put pressure on Sarmcol to negotiate with MAWU - but Sarmcol was intransigent. The Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce said that the boycott made it realise 'the need for increased dialogue and negotiation on the socio-economic situation' with organisations supported by the black community.

The boycott also had lessons for those organising it. Clearly it was important to consult properly with black traders around practical issues like sufficient and appropriate stock. Also, black traders did not match white businesses in prices and goods range, leading to

considerable sacrifice by consumers.

To succeed, a consumer boycott must maintain broad support, which calls for more delicate balancing of competing interests than in other popular campaigns. Prospects for inculcating working class content into a consumer boycott campaign are limited, because workers, particularly those in the commercial sector, are most vulnerable in such a class alliance: their jobs are at risk and they are less able to support a long-term boycott. Also, women in the community bear the brunt of immediate material consequences of a consumer boycott.

But the fact that in Pietermaritzburg, the unions and the Congress, Unity Movement and Black Consciousness traditions held together for the first time ever, is a positive precedent.

Small Towns--Local Demands Dominate

ADELAIDE

The boycott started on 6 May.

Organisations involved were the Adelaide Youth Congress, the Womens Association, the Residents Association, and COSAS. Youth Congress meetings were banned in the town.

The first meeting between town and township (those invited included individual community councillors as well as UDF-affiliated groups) was held on 25 June. However, the Adelaide mayor refused to discuss the consumer boycott at the meeting. UDF affiliates refused to attend a follow-up meeting on 9 July because of police raids in which 100 people were arrested, and because they had not yet reported back to their community. In July the Youth Congress said it would continue the boycott until next year. By mid-August, according to the Adelaide mayor, the boycott had 'petered out'.

The Pietermaritzburg boycott provided opportunity for democratic exchange among a wide variety of organisations. There were tensions. Unions suggested that community organisations offered more rhetorical than practical support. Community organisations felt the unions exerted too-rigid control, not allowing the former space to operate more effectively. But both now understand better the dynamics, structures, strengths and weaknesses of the other. This will allow more realistic expectations of each other in struggles waged together in future.

The central political and organisational question which emerges is surely that of the relationship between trade unions and community organisations.

FORT BEAUFORT

A call to boycott all white shops was made on 14 July. Demands included withdrawal of troops from local townships, provision of a community hall, a sports stadium, tarred roads, adequate water supplies and improved schooling facilities. Township residents claimed police were closing local shops to force them to buy in town. As a result, illegal 'backyard shops' provide people with basic goods. Some people formed societies to buy food in nearby Ciskeian villages.

GRAAF-REINET

By 4 September the boycott had ended. The local Chamber of Commerce placed a newspaper advertisement inviting black people to meet with them to discuss grievances.

GRAHAMSTOWN

On Monday, 2 September, Grahamstown's African townships began the third consumer boycott of all white businesses this year. All three boycotts were called by the Grahamstown Burial Action Committee (GBAC). The first boycott lasted one week in May. The second, a selective boycott of six or eight shops, was called in June and lasted some weeks.

The third boycott was called for four months. Most demands focused on local township conditions like housing, sewerage and electricity. Some of the 34 demands posed by the GBAC in the June boycott included: new school buildings; tarred roads; houses for the aged; community halls; creches; parks and playgrounds; public telephones; a public library; an end to bucket toilet system; an end to petty apartheid; a night school; trading sites for hawkers; living wages; an end to evictions; an end to victimisation and harassment.

Some demands added during the present boycott are: teacher training facilities for black matriculants; an end to discrimination at the local hospital; equalisation of black pensions with white; township sport facilities; an end to victimisation of employees who belong to political organisations.

The boycott was almost immediately successful and the local newspaper reported that at least two businesses had been forced to close down, and other businesses had experienced substantial losses. A clothing store feared that it would lose R36 000 per month, and some smaller shops were taking in less than R50 per day. Indian businessmen, because of their involvement in the tricameral system, are also being boycotted.

The boycott is being actively supported by a group of 150 Grahamstown whites, who are organising co-operative buying schemes with shops exempt from the boycott.

There have been negotiations between the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce and the GBAC. The Chamber also consulted with security forces but reported that only when violence, boycotts and stone throwing in the townships had subsided would the state of emergency be lifted.

No township shops have been closed, but trading hours have been reorganised. Shops are closed on Wednesday afternoons and must close early on Saturday and are shut on Sundays. They open later and close earlier on other days. This, together with the curfew - officially from 10 pm - means that people have great difficulty getting to shops before or after work.

KING WILLIAMSTOWN

The boycott began about the beginning of August. President of the local Chamber of Commerce, Isaac de Meyer, said the boycott had been 60% successful. He said a few shops were having a 'very bad time' but that he was unaware of any closures. The Chamber attempted to set up negotiations with boycott organisers but 'no one knows who they are'.

PARYS

Residents of Tumahole township began a boycott of white business on 12 August. Organisers appealed to businessmen to secure the reinstatement of workers sacked from two Parys firms after a funeral stayaway.

PORT ALFRED

A consumer boycott began in the first week of June. The black community made 20 demands, one of which was the release of community leader Gugile Nkwinti. White civic leaders formed an employers federation to negotiate with local black

leaders. Nkwinti was released on 14 June, and on 20 June he presented community demands at a public meeting.

The employers federation agreed to act on local issues and would support the other demand in liaison with government authorities. The community accepted this and agreed not to penalise white business for conditions 'beyond their control'. Further meetings were arranged with the local Chamber of Commerce and the Eastern Cape Development Board.

An important demand posed to the development board was that the township be placed under local municipality management. This proposal has been taken to the Department of Constitutional Development. The boycott was then called off.

On 15 September township students called for new boycott. Community leader Gugile Nkwinti's position is unclear, as he was reported both as overruling the student's call and also as supporting it. Shortly after this call was made he was re-detained. The boycott is reportedly not highly successful.

POTCHEFSTROOM

Ikageng township has observed a boycott since early August. The primary demand was for reinstatement of 436 workers fired from the Triomf Fertilizer plant, and of municipal workers who lost their jobs during a union recognition dispute. The boycott ended when workers were reinstated.

QUEENSTOWN

The boycott began on 12 August. Business attempts at negotiation with black leaders broke down. R15-m for upliftment of local black townships has been approved by Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Affairs but 'for many

local businessmen it is already too late'.

Almost all demands were local:

- * people evicted for not paying rent should get their houses back;
- * no further rent increases without consultation;
- * toilets and taps be provided in back yards;
- * improved school conditions; and
- * scrapping of lodgers' fees.

A demand to renovate Umlungise sports stadium cannot be met at present because construction firms are unable to enter the township.

In the week of 23 September a 100% successful work stayaway was held. Afterwards at least 100 workers were fired. The Queenstown Chamber of Commerce has asked ASSOCOM to approach the government for financial aid for businesses facing liquidation.

WITBANK

Local shops were reportedly 'severely affected' by the consumer boycott. COSAS called a successful work stayaway in support of detained students.

WORCESTER

Mass meetings to launch and publicise the boycott were held in Zwelenthemba township in August. Support in the coloured area is limited, as measured in monitoring chain stores. OK Bazaars and Checkers reported a substantial drop in turnover since mid-August because of the boycott.

Boycotts have also been reported in Krugersdorp, Cathcart, Kirkwood, Cradock, Stutterheim, Alexandria, Paarl, Stellenbosch, Springs and Uitenhage.

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SOUTH AFRICA

NO IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF LIFE OF URBAN BLACKS

Johannesburg WORK IN PROGRESS in English Oct 85 pp 35-37

[Article by Paul Hendler]

[Text] The Urban Foundation is an important weapon on capital's attempt to transform South Africa. But in spite of renewed efforts by the Foundation to fight for policy changes, a significant improvement in the "quality of life" for urban African workers seems unlikely. Paul Hendler looks at the Foundation's successes and failures.

The Urban Foundation has, in the nine years of its existence, vociferously argued for a structural reform of South African society. Its main aims have been to mobilise private sector resources to help the urban black communities achieve a 'better quality of life', and to achieve widespread acceptance of the 'free enterprise' ethic among blacks. The 1976 Soweto uprising, and recent endemic rebellion in African townships, has shown capital that social stability is crucial for a successful free enterprise system.

STATED GOALS

The Foundation has targeted housing, local government and influx control as priority areas for change. The process of attaining these set goals is fraught with contradictions, and achievements in some fields have been offset by deeper problems emerging in others.

Recognising that the acute housing shortage is a potential source of resentment, the Foundation believes private enterprise should provide new houses, although the state would have to provide rented accommodation for poorer township residents.

The private housing market expanded rapidly with the introduction of 99-year leasehold rights in 1978, and an amendment to the Financial Institutions Act. The Foundation's executive director believed these changes furthered 'the concept of individual ownership and entrenched free enterprise values among urban black communities'.

The Foundation believes that in addition to housing through private contractors and building societies, people should be allowed to build their own houses to unconventional, cheaper building specifications. To this end it has initiated several pilot 'self help' low-cost housing projects for Africans at Khutsong (near Carletonville) and Inanda (near Durban).

In 1983, the Foundation said local authority structures offered real opportunities for 'authentic black community leadership' to assume office and enter into negotiations with the central government on many critical issues'. Devolution of local authority power would defuse the volatile political situation in many townships, according to the Foundation.

Perhaps the most far-reaching goal the Foundation set itself is the abolition of one of South Africa's oldest institutions of political domination - influx control. This is perceived as being a major stumbling block to peaceful evolution towards a society based on 'free enterprise'. Its 1983 annual review warned that coercive controls over urbanisation were obsolete and created 'a climate conducive to agitation and insurrection'.

The Foundation envisages urbanisation policy based on 'incentives' rather than 'coercion'. This would involve decentralising economic growth to smaller metropolitan areas, and some form of rural agricultural development. The increase in job opportunities would keep many African workseekers from coming to the few major growth points.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM

To achieve its goals, Foundation politics is focused mainly on effecting changes in state policy and eroding the political bureaucratic impediments which prevent the implementation of 'structural reform'.

The Foundation's first strategic advance - the introduction of 99-year leasehold which gave Africans permanent urban rights and long term land tenure - involved 15 months of negotiations with government officials and the Association of Building Societies. During 1979 the Foundation helped frame regulations to speed up the implementation of leasehold rights and lower costs of surveying.

Partly as a result of Urban Foundation lobbying, in December 1984, 99-year leasehold provisions were extended to Khayelitsha and other selected areas in the Western Cape. As it is a coloured labour preference area, Africans were previously excluded from any form of permanent land tenure.

The Foundation's substantial political influence is shown in that prior to this extension it administered a home-ownership scheme in the Cape Town area, under 60-year leasehold title. This 'under the table deal' was organised by upper echelon government to escape the notice of ultra-conservative state employees. The Foundation still works behind the scenes to extend leasehold provisions to all Western Cape townships.

During the past year the Foundation successfully lobbied to re-introduce freehold rights in urban African townships. PW Botha has announced intentions to do this.

The Foundation also helped draft the Black Local Authorities Act, which conferred local authority status on certain African townships. But Foundation executive director Jan Steyn said the legislation was too limited a framework for local government. Working with a team of top lawyers he completely reformulated the Bill.

Nevertheless, the final product still bore the indelible stamp of apartheid. Only 'legal' residents - those with section 10 rights - could vote. This excluded hundreds of thousands of 'illegals' living permanently in the cities.

Attempting to create a favourable atmosphere for the implementation of the Act, the Foundation released the results of a rather dubious poll, hinting that at least 40% of township residents would participate in the scheduled November/December 1983 elections. In the event, the eventual election poll was 21%. In Soweto it was only 10,7%. Foundation in-house research revealed that between 40-60% of the potential

electorate were 'illegal' and so excluded from voting. This meant that little more than 10% of adults living in main urban townships cast their votes.

Despite the election fiasco, Foundation support for Black Local Authorities continued. Since 1983, the Foundation and private business have lobbied central government to recognise the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) - the umbrella body of many local councils. This bore fruit towards the end of 1984 when Gerrit Viljoen issued a statement recognising UCASA in a semi-official capacity.

The Foundation lobbied extensively to end influx control and vociferously opposed the Orderly Movement Bill. The dropping of this Bill indicates that their efforts were not in vain. Foundation research into influx control has formed part of a broader project of research into 'urbanisation', which is identified as 'the key social, economic, political and demographic phenomenon in South Africa'.

Much of the research data has found its way to the desks of government bureaucrats and state appointed commissions of enquiry - such as the recently completed President's Council investigation into the pass system. The Council recommended abolition of the system. Similarly, PW Botha's announcement that SA citizenship would be returned to citizens of the 'independent' Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, also appears to reflect the influence of Urban Foundation lobbying. But until recommendations are translated into legislation, it is difficult to assess the extent and power of this lobby. Also, Council support for an 'orderly urbanisation' policy has led to speculation that one form of coercion might be replaced with another. This directly contradicts Urban Foundation opposition to all forms of coercion.

EFFECTS OF URBAN FOUNDATION ACTIVITY

Since the introduction of 99-year leasehold more houses were built in townships than during the early 1970s. In 1970 3 703, in 1971 1 089 and in 1972 only 954 houses were built. In contrast, in 1981, 2 649 houses were built on the Witwatersrand (the major area of urban African settlement), 2 102 in 1982, 2 881 in 1983 and 5 919 in 1984. By the end of 1985 a further 6 129 are expected to be completed.

These new housing estates are different from standard 'matchbox' houses. They represent a new kind of township person for whom financial commitment and fixed employment become necessary parts of life. Such people will perhaps think twice before taking part in a general strike or consumer boycott. But to regard Africans who do enter the ranks of homeowners as 'co-opted', ignores the effects of other political and ideological practices.

Certain government elements have supported Foundation efforts to alter the urban geography of Soweto and other townships. In 1980, Louis Rive, chairperson of the Greater Soweto Planning Council, said the state planned to improve street conditions, sewerage, storm water drainage, electrical and water supply systems in Soweto. Since then upgrading has also taken place in other African townships.

Whatever its ideological effects, home-ownership remains limited to a small minority of township residents and the desperate housing shortage remains. In 1983 one source estimated a backlog of 160 000 units, while another claimed that on the Witwatersrand alone the backlog was 220 000 units. During the last five years an average of only 5 476 houses have been built annually. At this rate it will take 30 years to wipe out the existing backlog - longer if

population increases are considered.

Upgraded townships do not necessarily mean a satisfied, quiescent population. Rent increases necessary to repay the massive loans which financed upgrading are as likely to cause resentment amongst people who also face a rapidly increasing cost of living.

Foundation efforts to end the pass laws have also had an uneven success. The government has made a complete about face on the citizenship issue. But the 'dompas' is not yet 'dead'. For most Africans influx control practices have not changed.

The Foundation admits no success in the arena of local government. Cut off from popular support, local councils are particularly vulnerable to the violent events in the townships and in recent months many councils collapsed. Many Eastern Cape councillors, fearing for their lives, have disappeared into hiding, and on the Witwatersrand there is intense popular resistance to them. As a result some long term capital development projects have been shelved and essential services like township refuse and night soil removal disrupted.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

The Foundation faces the problem of powerful, ultra-conservative government forces which strongly resist political changes in the townships. The sizeable proportion of the white electorate which opposed the constitutional changes proposed by Botha and his lieutenants during the 1984 referendum, is one

indication of this. And recent disclosures about the breaching of the Nkomati Accord, as well as pro-UNITA activity in Angola, can leave little doubt as to the strength of ultra-conservative forces within the military apparatus.

The failing economy is an equally serious problem for the Foundation, together with low wages paid in most industries, and the relatively high cost of building housing. Cost problems are not limited to conventionally built houses. A recent report on housing, using certain affordability criteria, observes that costs for cheap self-help schemes exclude an average of 96% of people living in the prescribed areas.

A major impediment to the abolition of a coercive form of influx control is the absence of jobs. The flood of unemployed workers settling near the major industrial growth points would probably pose new threats to continued accumulation of capital in the South African economy and incidents of crime and violence would increase. The events in the Vaal Triangle last year, and the ongoing rebellions in the Eastern Cape and other parts of the country indicate that this is already happening.

But reform initiatives are far from dead. One of these, the regional services councils system, accepted in principle by the state, is designed to ensure economically viable services and upgrading to African townships. The Foundation is reportedly undertaking a major investigation of the entire local authority system. Presumably this is a prelude to 'further concessions' in the new year.

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CSO: 3400/482

TANZANIA

TEACHERS COLLEGES TO HAVE MILITARY TRAINING

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 21 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] All colleges of education in the country will have military training in their curriculum, according to a Party directive announced by President Nyerere in Morogoro yesterday.

Mwalimu said the Party had already directed that military training, now being offered in a few selected colleges, should be taught in all colleges in order to make teachers capable of being leaders, Shihata reported.

The President, who was addressing staff and students of Kigurunyembe College of Education at a ceremony to mark the tenth anniversary of the Institution of Military Training at the College, said what remained was to implement the directive.

Mwalimu said the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) had already been directed to prepare military training teachers to be posted to all the colleges.

Mwalimu lashed at critics who were claiming that military training had led to poor academic performance in some of the colleges, saying that the Party had investigated the claims and found them to be untrue.

He said a teacher was naturally a leader, and therefore it was vital to equip teachers with leadership training which, he said, was the main objective of military training.

The President said it was not good to make military training a specialisation of only a few colleges as all teachers required the training, vital for moulding requisite leadership character.

He said the defence of the country should not be left in the hands of the army alone, but rather should be the responsibility of all the people.

Mwalimu said he hoped the second phase of the Union Government would follow up the directive and ensure it was implemented through a planned programme.

Earlier, the Principal of the College, Father John Franken, told Mwalimu that military training had not led to poor performance at the college as it was being claimed.

Father Franken, who has been principal of the college for the past 30 years, said for example, that this year 91.6 of diploma students and 99.6 per cent of Grade "A" teacher students had passed their examinations. Last year 100 per cent and 99.5 per cent diploma and Grade "A" students, respectively, passed the final examinations.

He said the college, built in 1926, had over the past ten years of military training managed to bring out teachers of the highest level of discipline, perseverance and militancy.

The Principal said if Tanzania was serious in improving the standard of education, it should work out a scientific system of changing the attitude of mind of teachers.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

PLEA TO MAKE CTU MILITARY UNIVERSITY REPORTED

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 24 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Commanders and officers at the National Leadership Academy (CTU) have suggested that the academy be elevated to university level to offer military degrees.

The suggestion was made in a message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Mwalimu Nyerere, after the President commissioned 50 new officer cadets who have completed a six-month course at the academy in Arusha yesterday, Shihata reports.

They said if the idea was accepted, the Party and Government should ensure the new university matched internationally recognised standards through providing it with all the necessary facilities to make it self sufficient.

The commanders and officers also pledged their total support for the sole Presidential candidate, Ndugu Ali Hassan Mwinyi, saying they would cast "yes" votes for him and be loyal to him after being elected President.

They said the decision by the Party National Executive Committee (NEC) to nominate Ndugu Mwinyi as sole candidate for the presidency was right and they would all vote for him.

They also congratulated Ndugu Idris Abdul Wakil for his election as President of Zanzibar.

The commanders told Mwalimu that during his term as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, CTU had made many achievements.

They said CTU was able to train army commanders locally and made the Defence Force self-reliant in its manpower requirements.

They also said the Academy had built strong relations with armies of friendly nations through exchange programmes and training.

Turning to Mwalimu's 24 years of leadership, the commanders praised him particularly for his stand in the liberation struggle, saying that he had made Tanzania the spokesman for all the peoples under colonialism and oppression not only in Africa but the world over.

Earlier, President Nyerere inspected a guard of honour and took the salute by the new officer cadets before they swore their allegiance to the President.

The parade was the last to be attended by Mwalimu Nyerere who retires next month.

The commanders presented him with several prizes including an album containing photographs taken at occasions he attended at the academy since 1970.

They also presented him with the Academy's emblem, and a traditional fly whisk.

Mwalimu was also taken to a special room where he saw photographs taken since the struggle for independence.

One picture showed Mwalimu signing a visitors book with most founders of TANU looking on.

Mwalimu left Arusha yesterday for Dodoma. Today he is expected to lay the foundation stone of a new railway line being built by Tanzanian technicians from Itigi to Manyoni.

President Nyerere will be made an "honorary forest and beekeeping officer" when he meets top Government and parastatal organisations next Tuesday.

A letter circulated to heads of parastatals and companies throughout the mainland by the standing Committee on Parastatal Organisations (SCOPO) said Mwalimu will bid farewell to the heads.

The letter says heads of various commissions, parastatal organisations as well as top government functionaries will be addressed by the President.

The Minister for Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism, Ndugu Paul Bomani will honour Mwalimu with the award, at the ceremony to be held at the Institute of Finance Management.

The letter did not disclose reasons for the award but Mwalimu has been a staunch campaigner for afforestation and preservation of natural resources.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

GOVERNMENT SELLS TO KENYAN COMPANY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 21 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

THE Government last Thursday sold *mv Rukwa* to the Southern Engineering Company of Kenya acting together with Lido Navigator Limited of Liberia at a price of 5,512,500/- (315,000 US dollars).

The sale of the controversial vessel follows a scrutiny by a team of experts appointed by the Government to oversee the sale of the ship.

The team comprises officials from the ministries of Communications and Works, and Finance and the Bank of Tanzania.

There were five tenders for the purchase of the vessel, including those received from Holland, West Germany and Britain.

According to the Acting Director of Shipping in the Ministry of Communications and Works, Ndugu T. B. Rweyongeza, the tenders were invited from foreign firms which were prepared to buy the vessel in foreign exchange.

He said the Government had taken time to pick the buyer because of the depressing price problems afflicting the shipping industry.

He said following the ship's doubtful technical seaworthiness after having stayed idle for more than two years, it was decided that the vessel be sold on a "as-is-where-is" basis.

The ship was to be sold on June 30, this year, according to a government order which also dissolved the then Tanzania Ocean Shipping Corporation (TOSCO) which also had only one ship — the 14,000-tonne *mv Rukwa*.

The 14-year-old vessel is the same ship which was once known as *mv Jitegemee*, later renamed *mv Lord Rajpar* after it was bought by a Dar es Salaam businessman, Rajpar.

The ship, formerly owned by the East African National Shipping Line (EANS�), was sold to the Tanzania Colt Motors Limited in Dar es Salaam by the Tanzania Investment Bank at 39m/- under a deal which was later successfully challenged by the Government.

Meanwhile, Ndugu Rweyongeza said the Government had also invited tenders for the sale of another Tanzania Coastal Line Shipping Company (TACOSHILI) vessel, *mv Mwenge*, also grounded some six months ago due to higher operational costs.

Ministry sources said that the Government had also completed feasibility studies for the formation of a national shipping line.

He did not elaborate.

TANZANIA

AMREF HANDS OVER HEALTH PROJECT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] THE Nairobi-based African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) yesterday handed over a 36 million/- health education project to the Tanzanian Ministry of Health.

The Continuing Health Education project was launched in Arusha in 1981 as a pilot scheme with financial assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), *Shihata* reported.

The project, undertaken by AMREF, in collaboration with the Ministry of Health, was intended primarily to develop continuing education for health practitioners through motivation and improvement of their competence in carrying out their daily duties.

The senior medical office in-charge of Continuing Health Education in the Ministry of Health, Dr. Emmanuel Malangalila, said the project was extended to Singida, Morogoro, Coast and Tanga regions.

Dr. Malangalila said up to September 31 this year, several regional and district health practitioners have been trained under the programme while 37 health libraries have been opened in regional and district levels.

He said correspondence health courses were also introduced last June and 150 students have been enrolled out of 200 applicants.

An AMREF official said later that 4,228 health workers ranging from health auxiliary personnel to district and regional level teams were trained.

The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Health, Ndugu Julius Sepeku who received the project from AMREF's Medical Director, Christopher Wood, thanked the foundation for helping Tanzania's health programmes.

He said his ministry will do its utmost to expand the project to other regions in a bid to provide health for all by the year 2000.

AMREF, through assistance from international agencies, has covered similar projects in Sudan, Uganda and Kenya.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

JAPAN PLEDGES 84m/- GRANT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 19 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Tanzania expects a grant of more than 84m/- from Japan to buy refuse collection trucks to improve public health in seven towns in the country.

A tentative agreement on the grant was signed in Dar es Salaam yesterday between a team of public health experts from the Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA) and officials of the Prime Minister's Office.

The tentative agreement will be recommended to the two governments for examination, a statement issued after the signing said.

According to the "Minutes of Discussion" agreed upon and signed by the leaders of the Japanese team, Mr. Michio Sakamoto and the Director of Manpower Development and Administration in the Prime Minister's Office, Ndugu B.G. Moses, 100 trucks would be purchased from Japan.

Tanzanias had requested for 57 refuse collection trucks with hydraulic tipping devices with seven to 10-tonne loading capacity and 43 cesspit emptiers with 6,000 litre or larger container capacity.

The vehicles were to be distributed to Dar es Salaam which will get 25 refuse collection trucks and 16 cesspit emptiers; Arusha six refuse collection trucks and five cesspit emptiers.

Tango is to get five refuse collection trucks and four cesspit emptiers; Mwanza five refuse collection trucks and five cesspit emptiers; Dodoma five refuse collection trucks and five cesspit emptiers; Moshi is to get six refuse collection trucks and four cesspit emptiers and Mbeya will receive five refuse collection trucks and four cesspit emptiers.

After the approval, of the grant by the Japanese Government, Tanzania would be required to ensure prompt offloading of the 100 trucks, tax exemption and speed up customs clearance.

Another undertaking by the Tanzania Government would be to exempt Japanese nationals for the project from custom duties, internal taxes and other fiscal levies imposed in Tanzania in respect to the supply of the products and services under the contract.

Tanzania would also be required to provide and accord necessary permission, licences and other authorisation required under the project. All the expenses other than those stipulated under the project, should also be borne by Tanzania.

Mr. Sakamoto, a technical Supervisor of the Sanitation Bureau in Kyoto City Government, told reporters at the Prime Minister's Office, that his team was happy with the conclusion of the tentative agreement.

"The conclusion of this initial agreement is a symbol of our further co-operation with Tanzania," he said.

He thanked the Japanese Government for sending the team to carry out a nearly 14-day survey and discuss with urban authorities in Dar es Salaam, Moshi and Arusha, as sample urban areas, before the tentative pact was signed.

Meanwhile, the people of Japan have donated an assortment of medicines worth about 200,000/- to the Ministry of Health, Shihata reported.

The donation was presented yesterday to the Director of Hospital Services, Dr. Willbroad Ntuyabaliwe, by a senior staff writer for a Japanese newspaper "The Tokyo Shimbun", Shigeo Hayashi, on behalf of the Japanese people.

"The Tokyo Shimbun" initiated in Japan a money raising campaign for the purchase of the drugs to assist medical services in Tanzania.

Receiving the donation, Dr Ntuyabaliwe, thanked Japan for the drugs, saying it would so much help to reinforce the medical services in the country.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

NYERERE OPENS KIRUMI BRIDGE

'First Phase'

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 15 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] President Nyerere has said Tanzania will not have fulfilled her desire of linking the five East and Central African states by the construction of the Kirumi Bridge across Mara River alone.

He said there was still need to complete the Lake Victoria circuit road from Kyaka in Kagera Region through Mwanza and Musoma to Sirari to strengthen transportation along the Lake.

Mwalimu said this yesterday, during talks with Italian Ambassador to Tanzania Marquis Fabrizio Rossi Longhi, and the Managing Director of Gruppo Sogesca Lanari Estero (GSLE), Mr Paolo Lanari, whose company built the bridge.

The President yesterday inaugurated the 93m/- bridge which links Musoma and Tarime districts. The bridge is 180 metres long.

Mwalimu said he had completed the first phase of the project in the construction of the bridge and that it was now the duty of the coming Government to look for funds to complete the Lake Circuit Road project.

Mwalimu steps down as President of the United Republic later this year.

Meanwhile, the inauguration of the suspension bridge, the first of its kind in the country, was witnessed by hundreds of Musoma and Tarime districts residents who celebrated the occasion with traditional ngomas while women ululated as Mwalimu cut the tape.

After cutting the tape, Mwalimu then walked across the bridge to the Tarime side where he was met by Tarime district leaders and residents. They presented him with a dairy cow while the GSLE Managing Director Paulo Lanari was presented with a fly-whisk.

Earlier, welcoming Mwalimu to open the bridge which was opened to traffic since September 30, this year, the Minister for Communications and Works, Ndugu John Malecela, said the completion of the 150-tonne-load-capacity link was an important step in the implementation of a long-term programme to improve the Lake Victoria circuit road.

In a speech read on his behalf by the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Ndugu Anna Makinda, Ndugu Malecela said when completed, the circuit road project would help speed up economic, social and communications development with neighbouring countries of Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

He said completion of the bridge, without improvement of the Lake circuit road would not be meaningful unless more funds were sought to complete the road project.

The Minister explained that the project, financed by the African Development Fund (ADF) and the Tanzanian Government, could not be completed as scheduled--September, last year--because of financial problems and shortage of construction materials and transportation of the materials to the site.

The Mara Regional Commissioner, Ndugu Augustine Mwingira, said the bridge was also being used by vehicles ferrying goods to neighbouring countries. He said last week about 104 trucks from Kenya crossed the bridge with goods destined for Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

Mwalimu returned to Dar es Salaam yesterday.

Further Details

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 14 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] The 90m/- bridge on the Musoma-Tarime Road has been constructed by an Italian firm--Cruppo Sogesca Lanari Espero (GSLE) S.p.A. of Rome.

According to the GSLE site agent, Giovanni Sangregorio, construction of the bridge started in 1980 and stopped briefly in 1983 due to economic problems.

Sangregorio said since the bridge was open to traffic on September 30, this year, an average of 43 trucks with trailers had been crossing the bridge daily ferrying goods from Mombasa Port to Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

MUSOMA ROAD READY NEXT JUNE

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

THE 440 million/- all-weather road from Nyanguge (near Mwanza) to Musoma town being constructed by Gruppo Sogesca Lanari Estero (GSLE) of Italy is expected to be completed by June next year.

GSLE Managing Director, Mr. Lanari told the *Daily News* in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the asphalt-paved road was now nearing Bunda town in Mara Region.

Mr. Lanari who was in the country to attend the inauguration of the 95m/- Kirumi bridge across Mara river on the Musoma-Tarime road last Monday said the 180 kilometre-road was part of the country's Lake circuit road project.

The Kirumi bridge, measuring 182 metres, long constructed by GSLE and opened by Mwalimu Nyerere, is the first of its kind in the country.

Mr. Lanari said that even though there were difficulties on the road, it was his hope it would be completed by June, next year. The 10.5 metre-wide road whose construction began in 1979 is financed by the European Economic Community (EEC).

He was however optimistic that finances would be available to the Tanzania Government to complete the remaining portion of the road from Musoma to Sirari on the border with Kenya. Kirumi bridge is on the road about 32 kilometres from Musoma town.

Mr. Lanari who has been in the country since last week is today expected to meet with the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Ndugu Anna Makinda.

The GSLE Managing Director of the Rome-based Lanari group of companies on Monday held talks with Mwalimu in Musoma after opening of Kirumi bridge. The talks which centred on the Lake circuit road project were also attended by the Italian Ambassador to Tanzania, Mr. Rossi Longhi.

Mr. Lanari leaves for home tomorrow.

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TANZANIA

DETAILS ON MARINE DEPARTMENT TRANSPORT GIVEN

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 21 Oct 85 pp 4, 5

[Excerpts] The Marine Department was established in Tanzania in 1977 for in the days of the East African Railways the Marine headquarters were in Kisumu, Kenya.

By July, 1985, the Department was operating a fleet of seven passenger vessels, three cargo vessels, five cargo lighters towed by two tugboats and two oil barges.

On Lake Victoria, these vessels operate from Mwanza where there are nine vessels. Mwanza is also the place where training of officers and artisans is done in our Marine workshop and the vessels. But overall operation of vessels and their coordination is done from the Marine headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

On Lake Tanganyika we operate two passenger vessels and one tanker vessel while on Lake Nyasa we have one passenger vessel and one cargo vessel.

These ships provide service to all main towns around our lakes as well as villages of potential value. By this service therefore our Marine Department contributes a great deal to Tanzania's food production as well as distribution of all kinds of commodities needed by the public.

Since delivery of new ships between 1980 and 1983 we have made tremendous progress. In 1980 we carried about 200,000 passengers while this increased to 640,000 passengers in 1984. For cargo the figures were 90,000 tonnes in 1980 and 170,000 tonnes in 1984.

This shows that the transportation of passengers has risen tremendously, cargo has not fallen behind.

The total "cargo" in 1984 would be 174,000 tonnes compared to the 1980 figure of 90,000 tonnes.

Since April, 1982 the passenger vessels on Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika have been operating on a fixed timetable: On Lake Victoria we render passenger service between Mwanza, Bukoba, Musoma, Kisumu, Namirembe, Kome Island, Buchenzi and Nangio on Ukerewe Island.

On Lake Tanganyika the passenger and cargo vessels serve 21 villages. The service on Lake Nyasa was taken over from the Tanzania Coastal Shipping Line (TOCOSHILI) in July 1983. Since then we have offered a twice weekly service on this lake.

But apart from the fixed schedule of passenger services we also render cargo services. Our wagon-ferry mv Umoja, for instance, plies between Mwanza, Kemondo Bay, Musoma and Jinja, Uganda twice a week.

There is a plan in future to render more passenger services to the public by opening up new routes at the end of this year and beginning of next.

The following are vital statistics of our vessels, On Lake Victoria. Mv Victoria -- passenger capacity 750, cargo capacity 200 tonnes, weekly passenger capacity pt. 4,500.

Mv Bukoba -- passenger capacity 400, cargo capacity 50 tonnes, weekly passenger capacity pt. 2,400.

Mv Butiama -- passenger capacity 160, cargo capacity 200 tonnes, weekly passenger capacity pt. 1,600.

Mv Clarias -- passenger capacity 290, cargo capacity 20 tonnes, weekly passenger capacity pt. 3,480.

On Lake Tanganyika. Mv Liemba -- passenger capacity 480, cargo capacity 250 tonnes, weekly passenger capacity pt 1,920.

Mv Mwongozo -- passenger capacity 400, cargo capacity 50 tonnes, weekly passenger capacity pt 1,600.

On Lake Nyasa. Mv Iringa -- passenger capacity 80, cargo capacity NIL, weekly passenger capacity pt 320.

Of the cargo vessels the following are in operation. On Lake Victoria. Mv Umoja -- cargo capacity 750 tonnes, rail wagon capacity 42 tonnes, weekly cargo capacity 4,500 tonnes.

ML Wimbi -- cargo capacity 200 tonnes, weekly cargo capacity 800 tonnes.

ML Maindi -- cargo capacity 200 tonnes, weekly cargo capacity 800 tonnes.

Mv Ng'ombe -- Weekly cargo capacity 700 tonnes.

Tugboats on Lake Victoria. Mv Ukerewe -- towing capacity 800 tonnes, Mv Linda -- towing capacity 550 tonnes.

Tanker. Mv Nyangumi -- cargo capacity 397,000 litres.

Lighter No. 1. -- cargo capacity -- 120,000 litres.

On Lake Tanganyika my Sangara (tanker) has a cargo capacity of 280,000 litres.

On Lake Nyasa my Songea has a cargo capacity of 125 tonnes and a weekly cargo capacity of 735 tonnes.

Marine projects have been financed through various sources. The Belgian Government, for instance, has through a State to State Loan agreement with the Government of Tanzania agreed to supply and assemble a floating dock with a lifting capacity of 800 tonnes, passenger vessels, mv Butiama, Mv Bukoba, Mwongozo, a tanker Mv Sangara and a tugboat Mv Ukerewe.

Through a new State to State Loan signed between the governments of Tanzania and Belgium, the Belgian Government is committed to supply a new floating dock with a capacity of 1,800 tonnes to enable the docking of my Victoria and mv Umoja.

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TANZANIA

RAILWAY CORPORATION CHIEF REVIEWS PROGRESS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 21 Oct 85 p 4

[Text] Dear Readers,

We are very happy today to be celebrating our eighth anniversary. We were born on October 21, 1977 and these eight years have been hectic, sometimes problematic, but above all challenging.

I say challenging because no one among us ever thought that we would live to see this day. As a matter of fact, when the East African Railways Corporation (EARC) broke up in 1977 prophets of doom thought we would not live to see the year out.

But with the support of the masses of workers and peasants of Tanzania, the government and moral backing of the Party as well as resoluteness of our workers, we were able to go through all the obstacles in our way and stand on our feet.

Today, therefore, is a day for us to reflect over the past to see where we faltered or did well, and plan for the future taking great care to avoid mistakes of the past.

Our greatest asset is, of course, the workers manning the various sections and departments of our Corporation. It is the steeled determination of our workers that will make or break our Corporation.

Fortunately we have in T.R.C. a dedicated, experienced workforce of around 16,000, up from the 14,500 we started with in 1977 but down from the 18,000 we had last year. The number is expected to be lower still in the next six months.

However, we do not only rely on the workers' experience for we undertake vigorous training in various fields. In this connection the Tabora Railway Training College shoulders the greatest burden.

But other training institutions include the Institute of Finance Management, Institute of Development Management, College of Business Education, National Institute of Transport, Dar es Salaam Marine Training Unit, Tanzania School of Journalism and lately, Kenya Railways Training College.

As we reflect over the past eight years, one of the greatest successes that comes to mind is the role we played during the 1979 war against dictator Amin's Uganda. Our Corporation played a major role in his downfall as we moved most of the arms and personnel during the period.

Yet we proud ourselves in being the carrier of most of the exports and imports of not only Tanzania but also of neighbouring landlocked countries as Zaire, Burundi, Ruanda and Uganda.

Our railway has in the past years increasingly hauled most of the goods of these countries as demonstrated by the following figures:

MOVEMENT OF TRAFFIC TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES:
ZAIRE, BURUNDI AND RWANDA

YEAR	TO ZBR		FROM ZBR	
	TONNES	REV. SHS	TONNES	REV. SHS
1977	46509	15,939,756	99036	20,834,758
1978	67095	13,776,630	75881	16,647,012
1979	48254	13,481,570	70115	27,163,399
1980	47678	16,019,400	69697	24,998,712
1981	40650	14,045,084	69628	24,602,390
1982	36210	14,334,927	65373	25,196,217
1983	43140	17,702,768	92353	47,895,361
1984	57200	24,919,176	92276	47,818,780

We would have done better but for the fact that we were confronted with problems beyond our control. These included non-availability of adequate motive power; lack of spares to service our rolling stock; poor condition of the track; poor communication and lack of enough competent manpower, to name but a few.

Over the past year, however, our performance has improved a great deal despite these problems; so much so that we projected to generate Shs. 1,245m/- this year (1985) as against Shs. 768m/- of 1984. This shows an increase of Shs. 477m/- or 63 percent.

We budgeted to spend 992m/- this year as compared to Shs. 684m/- of 1984, also showing an increase in expenditure of Shs. 308m/- or 46 percent. Thus from its operations our Corporation expects to notch a surplus of Shs. 41m/- this year.

Admittedly some of this surplus will come about following the tariff increase of more than 50 percent we slapped on our services earlier this year. But it is also true that it reflects an improved performance of our operations. Compared to other modes of transport in the country we still boast to be the cheapest.

Our marine vessels have done a commendable job over these eight years. As most of you can recollect during the days of the EAR marine services were headquartered in Kisumu. When we started them in Tanzania we had to rehabilitate at great expense the old ships that were retrieved from Kenya.

Over the years, however, we managed to build additional vessels, so that by July 1985 we had in all the three lakes a total of seven passenger vessels, three cargo vessels, five cargo lighters towed by two tugboats and two oil tankers.

Marine traffic has been increasing as the years have gone by as demonstrated by the fact that in 1980 we carried about 200,000 passengers, but last year the number was 640,000. However, cargo has not similarly increased for the figures were 90,000 and 110,000 tonnes respectively.

Probably what is most notable in Marine Services is the fact that we serve neighbouring countries and thus foster African brotherhood among us in the spirit of African Unity. Thus on Lake Nyasa we intend to serve Malawi, on Lake Tanganyika we serve Burundi, Zambia and (in future) Zaire while on Lake Victoria we serve Uganda and Kenya.

We have been helped a great deal in our Marine Services by a number of countries. Notable among them has been Belgium which agreed to supply and assemble a floating dock with a lifting capacity of 80 tonnes and build five ships.

The Danish government has supplied machinery and marine items worth D. Kronor 23 million (Shs. 207m/-) as well as technical assistance. Under Danish aid mv Linda, a tugboat, was delivered in 1983 and the Danish government further agreed to give D. Kronor 9m (Shs. 81m/-) covering the period up to June 1986.

We have also asked the Danish Government for aid to rehabilitate our old vessels and procure spare parts/machinery up to 1986 whose value comes up to D. Kronor 76m (Shs. 684m/-).

Another source of financing has been the Kuwait Fund. This Fund has been used in purchasing workshop machinery, new diesel engines and a life saving boat for a total of US \$700,000 (12.6m/-).

The European Economic Community (EEC) has assisted in the purchase of light beacons equipment to cover Lake Victoria needs of navigational light houses and beacons worth UK pound 160,000 (Shs. 2.3m/-).

The biggest problem facing our Marine Services is, however, shortage of qualified personnel. It takes many years of vigorous training to get a certified and competent marine Officer, and often this training has to be done abroad.

Another problem is that some of our existing vessels are too old. On Lake Victoria we need to replace the lighters M.L. Wimbi and Maindi as well as M.V. Ng'ombe.

On Lake Tanganyika we need to have a vessel with a capacity of 300 passengers while on Lake Nyasa we need a vessel capable of carrying about 350 to 400 passengers and 350 tonnes of cargo. Besides these, there is need to have feeder vessels to serve islanders on these lakes.

Other areas like Mechanical and civil Engineering Fields have received similar attention. Our strategy and priority has been one of rehabilitating existing equipment so as to maintain existing capacity and where possible increase it.

In that respect we have embarked on a programme of rehabilitation of locomotives, wagons and coaches with the assistance of friendly nations.

However, the assistance from those nations and our own resources cannot fully cover the rehabilitation programme. We shall continuously seek funds from other sources in order to be able to complete the programme.

Coupled with the rehabilitation programme, there is need to acquire additional equipment like special user wagons e.g. container wagons which we do not have. This is absolutely necessary if we are to respond to the changing needs of our customers both within and outside Tanzania.

Locomotives and rolling stock do not alone makeup a railway. They have to move on a track. It is public knowledge that our track is one of the oldest in Africa and since it was built late last century and/or the beginning of this century, no major up-grading of the track was undertaken although traffic grew tremendously.

We have therefore in the past few years embarked on a deliberate programme of upgrading the track including relaying the track with new and heavier rails, strengthening the bridges and ballasting.

Our ballasting programme financed by the EEC and Canada is now in full swing and for those of you who have recently ridden a train in a ballasted section, you will have noticed the improved quality of the ride resulting from the new ballast.

We are currently engaged in a signalling programme between Dar es Salaam and Kigoma and some stations are already operational. This is being done with Italian Government assistance.

With FRG Government assistance, we are installing a new telecommunication network between Tabora and Kigoma. Sometime next year work will start on the rest of our network with Canadian assistance.

The work ahead of us is tremendous and our responsibility to our customers and the nation at large is great. We are however confident that with dedication and determination we shall manage as we have amply demonstrated in these past few years which have been very difficult not to TRC alone but also to the nation as a whole.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

DCA SEEKS NAVIGATIONAL, COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 22 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

THE Directorate of Civil Aviation (DCA) has been urged to have a basic navigational equipment and communication policy to ensure that airports and aerodromes were well equipped to facilitate smooth landing and take-off of aircraft.

The appeal is among recommendations made by the Tanzania Air Traffic Controllers' Association (TATCA) which ended its two-day sixth annual general meeting in Dar es Salaam at the weekend.

TATCA recommended that the DCA should phase out old equipment and navigational aids and replace them with modern ones. The existing facilities at some airports and aerodromes were out of order or unserviceable.

The association however noted that in the process of replacing the old equipment and navigational aids, DCA should also ensure that its technical staff were kept abreast of the technological development through training and proper assessments.

In view of frequent reports by aircraft of the presence of wind

shear (dangerous horizontal spiraling wind) while on final approach, TATCA requested authorities concerned to provide wind shear detecting equipment to enable controllers provide the necessary warning to aircraft in good time.

TATCA expressed concern over frequent non-availability of timely weather reports to controllers for on-ward passing to aircraft when required. It however appealed to its members to supplement the delayed weather reports by their own current observation.

The meeting held at the Dar es Salaam International Airport and attended by over 30 TATCA members from all over the country also appealed to the DCA to implement without delay the Very High Frequency (VHF) — West Area cover to improve communications within the Dar es Salaam flight information region.

It also requested the DCA to seriously consider the possibility of introducing the subject of economics of aircraft operations and airport operations at the newly established Civil Aviation Training centre to improve operational performance of air traffic controllers on aircraft under their control.

Other resolutions passed by the meeting include hosting the seventh Africa and Indian Region (AFI) East Annual Conference next year.

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TANZANIA

DAR TO FERRY RWANDA GOODS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 17 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

PRESIDENT Nyerere and Rwandese President Juvenal Habyrimana yesterday held talks at the State House in Dar es Salaam focusing on ways to alleviate transport problems of Rwandese goods.

A communique issued after their two-hour talks said that they reviewed the geo-political situation and economic difficulties facing landlocked countries, especially Rwanda.

For the past few months, Rwandese goods passing through Kenya and Uganda had problems because of increased military activities of the rebel National Resistance Army (NRA) in Uganda.

Last Monday, NRA rebels forces of Yoweri Museveni destroyed the Katonga bridge, 100 kilometres from Kampala.

The road links Kampala to Masaka and connects neighbouring Rwanda and Burundi.

The war in Uganda has created a lot of insecurity for Rwandese goods. The Kenya-Uganda-Rwanda road is the traditional route for Rwandese goods.

The two Heads of State appealed to the parties concerned in Uganda to continue with efforts aimed at reaching a peaceful and lasting solution.

In their communique, the two Presidents instructed their respective ministers for Transport and Communications to find practical ways to facilitate smooth transportation of Rwandese goods.

The Rwandese President, who left for home yesterday after the talks, was accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Francois Ngarukiyintwali, Minister of State in the President's Office, Simeon Ntenziriyayo, and Minister for Transport and Communications, Andrea Ntagerura.

The Rwandese Minister for Transport and Communications, Andrea Ntagerura, and several other top government officials are still in Tanzania. They will hold further consultations with Tanzanian government officials.

According to an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, further consultations will evolve around working out modalities of facilitating smooth transportation of Rwandese goods.

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TANZANIA

CONTAINER DOCK CONSTRUCTION BEGINS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Construction work to convert berths nine, ten and eleven at the Dar es Salaam Port into a modern container terminal has started.

Excavation of the yard on Berth Nine started late last month under the consortium of two Japanese firms--Kajima Corporation and Mitsui Company, according to the Project Manager of the Kajima Corporation in Tanzania, Mr. A. Akabori.

Mr. Akabori told the Daily News in Dar es Salaam yesterday that temporary office for engineers and storage facilities had been erected in the port yard.

He said a large consignment of equipment for the 369.7m/- project, funded by the World Bank, had arrived and was already on use. Another consignment of construction equipment for the project was expected.

At the Ubungo transshipment shed, which is also part of the project "very small works" have started, the project manager explained. The transshipment shed would be converted into an inland container depot for various cargo:

The multi-million shilling container terminal project would also see the construction of a warehouse at Kurasini for surge traffic earmarked for transportation on the Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA) line.

Mr. Akabori noted that they expected to complete the project in 26 months. The conversion work on berths nine, ten and eleven which will also mean strengthening the deck will, however, not interfere with port operations.

Other projects associated with the container terminal were at take-off stages in August, this year, but efforts to contact the Tanzania Harbours Corporation General Manager, Ndugu Peter Bakilana, to comment on their progress failed yesterday.

These include the provision of container yard handling equipment such as rubber tyred gantry cranes and forklift trucks which were expected to be provided by Finland.

Others are two quay gantry cranes and a rail-mounted gantry crane for loading containers on railway wagons.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

DODOMA GETS KIDATU POWER

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 11 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] Residents of Dodoma municipality have started using Kidatu hydro-power after commissioning of the Iringa-Dodoma power line on October 7.

The Tanzania Electric Supply Company (TANESCO) Acting Managing Director Silvan Kimaryo told Shihata over the phone from Dar es Salaam that construction of the 220kV power line between Iringa and Dodoma was undertaken by an Italian firm -- Sadelmi.

The power line construction whose distance is over 200 kilometres cost 621m/- out of which 558m/- was in foreign exchange.

Ndugu Kimaryo further said the commissioning of the power line had enabled TANESCO to save two million shillings monthly which was being spent to run two diesel power stations in Dodma. The stations were consuming 300,000 litres of diesel every month.

Meanwhile, Ndugu Kimaryo said construction of the power line between Dodoma and Singida which has already started is expected to be completed in June next year.

He said construction of the power line was being undertaken by a Yugoslavian firm -- ENEGRONINVEST. The firm has also been awarded a tender to construct the Singida-Mwanza power line scheduled to be completed in 1988.

Commissioning of the Iringa-Dodoma power line precedes the recent commissioning of the Mufindi-Mbeya power line. Iringa town which for a very long time was facing power problems started using the Kidatu hydro-power early this year.

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TANZANIA

LAUNCHING OF TEXTILE MILL NOTED

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 22 Oct 85 p 1

[Editorial]

THE launching of the Morogoro Polyester (Polytex) Mills, described as the first publicly owned mill of its kind in the country, marks yet another milestone towards national self-sufficiency in clothing.

At a rated production capacity of up to 21.5 million metres of cloth yearly, the nearly 2 billion shillings project can be relied upon to raise the current national textile production capacity to 200 million metres.

This is no small measure considering that the demand for clothing in the country is still wanting, despite substantial progress made in expanding the textile sector.

We are told that the new mill will be churning out materials ranging from polyester cotton to polyester rayon for both the home market and for export.

And at full capacity it should satisfy requirements for suiting and shirting materials for our garment manufacturers; for hospital and armed forces uniforms; polyester yarn; and a small proportion for export.

This is certainly going to help reduce our dependence on imported polyester cotton and rayon as well as fabrics — a sure saving on

foreign exchange and contribution to generation of foreign exchange through exports.

The mill's completion also tallies with the country's long-term ambition of becoming a net exporter of intermediate and finished products rather than remaining a mere primary commodity exporter.

Indeed, there have been several national industrial ventures — and the list is interminable — promised along similar lines, but which for one reason or another have not fully succeeded in mitigating purposes of their establishment.

A look at the textile sector, for instance, targetted at utilising at least 60 per cent of locally produced cotton into processing locally textiles and other products with the rest going to the export market, has only managed to stagger through.

The record of the forerunners to Morogoro Polytex — Friendship (Urafiki), Mwatex or Mutex — with an enviable combined installed production capacity plus that of private mills, is such that they have not always operated at full capacity.

Reasons for this abound — power and water problems; vagaries of weather affecting cotton production; global economic recession with a spill away effect on economies such as ours and making foreign exchange with which to import raw materials and spares hard to come by.

But there have also been problems of a management nature, which have often resulted in unnecessarily huge administrative overheads at the expense of production and supplying the people clothing in sufficient quantities and at rational prices.

While we take a lot of pride in the launching of the Morogoro Polytex mill, we must caution from the very start that such a multi-million shillings project must by all means avoid snags that have characterised not only textile ventures, but others as well.

This is the only way that the nation can justify such huge investment in a venture intended for national development.

TANZANIA

COTTON STRANDED IN BIHARAMULO

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 22 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

OVER four million kilogrammes of cotton worth 57,145,543/55 and 2,545 kilogrammes of maize worth 12,088/75 have not been bought in Biharamulo District.

Biharamulo District which is the only district producing cotton in the Region is expected to sell seven million kilogrammes of cotton this season worth 87,150,000/-, *Shihata* reported.

As of October 3, this year, only two million kilogrammes were bought.

At the same time 1,445 tonnes of cotton seed were transported from Kasamwa and Buyagu in

Mwanza Region and taken to Biharamulo to be planted by October 15, for the 1985/86 season.

A spokesman for the Kagera Co-operative Union said that out of 25 lorries expected to transport the seeds only 15 did so despite the fact that all 25 were allocated fuel for the job.

In Shinyanga, the regional committee which is supervising the buying and distribution of agricultural equipment has ordered the Shinyanga Regional Trading Company (RTC) to return unbought ploughs to the Ubungo Farm Implements

Company in Dar es Salaam so that they could be exchanged with hand hoes.

The committee made the order after the RTC told the committee that the Ubungo factory had said it would not send 100,000 hand hoes to Shinyanga Region until the RTC had paid 7,000,000/- it owed the Company, *Shihata* reported.

Last season, Shinyanga Region needed 100,000 hand hoes. The RTC still has 3,000 ploughs left from last season.

Meanwhile, Mara Regional Co-operative Union (MCU) has started a campaign to transport 6,845,540 kilogrammes of cotton worth 86,043,629/40 which had piled up in several villages in the region.

The MCU General Manager, Ndugu Eliasaf Lima told *Shihata* in Musoma at the weekend that the campaign began early last week after receiving 15,000 litres of diesel for hauling of the crop.

Ndugu Lima said his union had also received 30,000 litres of industrial oil (IDO) for ginneries which have already started ginning the cotton. The ginneries include those at Ushashi, Kibara

and Mugango.

According to the General Manager, four million kilogrammes of the 1983/84 season which had piled at the ginneries had already been ginned.

He noted that if diesel and IDO continued to be available, transportation and sorting the cotton in ginneries would take a short time. Until October 12, a total of 1,077,863 kilogrammes of cotton had been hauled from villages to ginneries.

On buying of cotton, Ndugu Lima said Ushashi Zone was leading for buying 2,805,082 Kgs followed by Kibara 2,168,374 Kgs Mugango 2,026,161 Kgs and Mugumu 118,021 Kgs of cotton.

The MCU expects in the 1985/86 season to buy a total of ten million kilogrammes of cotton.

Meanwhile, the Secretary for the Tanzania Parents Association in Magu District, Mwanza Region, Ndugu Bise Nyantito Bise has appealed to technical secondary schools for the association to immediately start preparation for cultivation as rains had started in the district.

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TANZANIA

KENYA CATTLE EXCHANGE REPORTED

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 24 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

A KENYAN Member of Parliament has proposed that livestock near the Kenya/Tanzania border should have special identification marks, *Shihata* reported.

Kwale Member of Parliament, Mr. Boy Juma Boy, was speaking during lunch given by his District Commissioner, Mr. Abdulrehman Msangi, at Leopard Beach Hotel at Diani/ Ukinda, 30 kilometres south of Mombasa on Monday.

Mr. Boy who was speaking after handing over ceremony of 71 head of cattle which had been stolen from a Kenyan ranch and brought to Tanzania, said the marks would help identify the cattle.

He said if his proposal would be implemented, it would reduce frequent cattle rustling incidents on the border between the two countries.

Earlier at the handing over ceremony held at the Horohoro border post on the Tanzanian side, the two District Commis-

sioners called for the maintenance of peace, unity and love among the people living near the common border.

They said incidents of lawlessness done by individuals to wreck the economy of the two countries should be reported at once to law enforcers so that prompt action was taken.

They praised the decision taken by presidents of the two countries to restore good neighbourliness for the good of their two peoples.

Mr. Msangi said the cattle were among 73 which had been recovered from cattle rustlers at Mwakijembe area of Muheza District on October 9, this year.

He said since then two of them died, one destroyed and the meat of the other was sold fetching 1,280/-.

Mr. Msangi said one of the cows stolen gave birth and he handed over the heifer, the two skins and the money to the Kwale District Commissioner.

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TANZANIA

DETAILS ON SPM PAPER MILL GIVEN

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 19 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Mkumbwa Ally]

[Text] Paper produced at the Southern Paper Mills (SPM) will be exported to Eastern African countries and the Middle East.

The Chairman and Managing Director of the National Development Corporation (NDC), Ndugu Arnold Kilewo, told President Nyerere here yesterday that a market survey for the commodity had identified great potential in the two subregions.

NDC is SPM's holding corporation.

Ndugu Kilewo told Mwalimu at a ceremony to inaugurate the multi-million shilling mill that Tanzania's paper consumption was estimated at 37,000 tonnes annually compared with SPM's installed capacity of 60,000 tonnes.

The capacity would be stretched to 75,000 tonnes under the second phase of the project, he said.

Ndugu Kilewo said 16,000 out of 30,000 tonnes of industrial paper to be produced by the mill at full capacity would be retained for the domestic market while the remaining 14,000 tonnes would be exported.

He said 18,600 tonnes of writing and printing paper, including newsprint, would be sold in the domestic market and 11,000 tonnes would be exported.

Ndugu Kilewo did not say when the mill would attain full capacity production but he told the President that this would effect a 300m/- net saving on foreign exchange used to import paper annually.

He said SPM would require 75m/- to import spare parts and raw materials annually for smooth operation.

Apart from paper, the mill will produce 1,400 tonnes of pulp for the packaging industries such as Kibo Paper of Dar es Salaam.

Ndugu Kilewo said the SPM project costs were maintained at the 1979 budgeted estimates of 1,875m/-. He told Mwalimu that actual costs were 75m/- short of the budget which, he added, was a notable saving.

He said the mill "is willing" to use locally-obtained coal as energy source "when it is available". The factory would use an estimated 35,000 tonnes of coal annually, he said.

The factory, to employ 2,000 people has a self-contained township with 636 housing units sprawled on a hill.

Ndugu Kilewo said Mgorolo population was expected to grow to 10,000 people. Plans were underway to open cereal farms, a piggery and poultry to support this growth, he added.

Inviting the President to inaugurate the mill, the Deputy Minister for Industries and Trade, Ndugu Evarist Mwanansao, said this biggest industrial project since independence would give fresh impetus to the printing, publishing and packaging industries.

He said the pulp and paper mill was part of the basic industrial strategy adopted in 1975/76 to transform the economic structure using local resources to meet domestic needs.

Ndugu Mwanansao commended NDC for its dynamism in mobilising funds for the project and scrupulous supervision of its execution.

The project was financed by grants and loans from Sweden, Britain, West Germany, Kuwait, Yugoslavia, the European Economic Community, World Bank, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) Fund, the Nordic Investment Bank and the Commonwealth Development Corporation.

Ndugu Kilewo commended Mwalimu's personal interest in the paper mill project and his efforts in mobilising funds for the project.

SPM workers said in a message that they would consign 100 reams of paper to the President annually for the rest of his life.

Mwalimu, who was accompanied by Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Ndugu Getrude Mongella, inspected the paper mill and was later driven round Mgorolo township.

He was the guest of honour at a luncheon hosted by SPM to crown the ceremony.

In a vote of thanks, the SPM General Manager, Mr. F.J. Winstanley, pledged to run the company "successfully and profitably".

He said SPM would give priority to paper export to generate foreign exchange.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

BURNT BRICKS PLANT READY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 23 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Stephen Rweikiza]

[Text] The problem of getting burnt bricks in the city will be eased following the completion of a modern multi-million shilling burnt brick factory at Pugu in Kisarawe District.

The Kisarawe Bricks Factory, a subsidiary of the National Housing Corporation (NHC), was commissioned on Monday when the first burnt brick rolled out of the tunnel kiln during a trial run.

The factory's General Manager, Ndugu Samuel Mghweno, said that the factory would be in full production soon and that the bricks would be in the open market for any interested buyer.

He said the factory, which was financed by the Bulgarian Government, cost 133.5m/-. Its capacity is 20 million bricks a year.

The factory also plans to produce tiles but for the time being it will concentrate on burnt bricks until a tiles machine is installed, according to Ndugu, Mghweno.

He said the factory would produce 11 million hollow bricks and nine million solid bricks. The bricks measure 230 millimetres in length 110mm wide and 65 mm in depth. The price for each brick is yet to be determined, according to Ndugu Mghweno.

He said the factory would run under Bulgarian management for four years after which it would be fully manned by Tanzanians.

A group of Tanzania technicians had trained in Bulgaria and most of the factory's technical staff would continue to understudy the Bulgarian experts so as to get ready for the take-over, he said.

The factory has 260 employees, including 20 women technicians.

Ndugu Mghweno said construction of the factory started in 1980 but completion was delayed due to lack of some raw material.

The commissioning ceremony on Monday was also attended by the Bulgarian Ambassador to Tanzania, Serafin Serafimov, the Commissioner for Local Governments and Housing in the Prime Minister's Office, Ndugu C. Senga, and the Acting General Manager of NHC, A.M. Shitindi.

Ndugu Serafimov said, the completion of the Bulgarian aided Kisarawe brick factory was a gesture of good relations between Bulgaria and Tanzania and that his country would continue to extend more assistance towards consolidating the good relations between the two countries.

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CSO: 3400/356

TANZANIA

NEED TO PLANT MORE TREES STRESSED

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 16 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Tanzania requires to plant 360 million tree seedlings a year if it has to achieve sufficiency in fuel wood, forestry information officers have said in Dodoma where they are attending a one-week seminar.

The officers estimate that every Tanzanian should plant 18 trees a year if that goal is to be attained, Shihata reported.

A report presented to the seminar notes, at present only 16 million trees are being planted annually. Between 1975 and 1983 only 16 million trees were planted on 10,000 hectares.

The report calls for cooperation on land use between the Ministries of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism and Agriculture and Livestock Development to make afforestation efforts succeed.

The Dodoma Regional Development Director, Ndugu Dunford Mapunda, who opened the seminar called on the Forestry information officers to educate the people on advantages of planting trees and disadvantages brought about by deforestation.

Meanwhile, residents of Usoke Mlimani village in Urambo District have set aside 240 hectares of land for planting trees for the village including the acacia libida (mininga), miyombo woods, mitumba and mivule and several other types.

The villagers have already set aside five hectares for a nursery of the various tree types, Shihata reported.

They have also co-operated to build a Party office, worth 51,525/75, and some market stalls worth 62,100/60 on self-basis.

The villagers have placed a down payment of 165,000/- to buy a Valmet tractor. Of the amount, 91,995/- comes from several projects undertaken by the village while 73,000/- comes from contributions made by the residents.

A total of 329,658/25 was obtained from various projects such as a grinding mill, a shop, market and a guest house.

The Tabora Regional Commissioner who visited the village recently praised the villagers for their good plans for afforestation.

Similar praise went to the village primary school children for digging 841 holes for planting seedlings for the planned tree project.

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TANZANIA

BRIEFS

PHONE BILLS PAID--The Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (TPTC) has so far collected some 34m/- from its Dar es Salaam subscribers since the massive telephone disconnection exercise was launched last week, it was said in Dar es Salaam yesterday. The TPTC Assistant Director General, Ndugu F. C. Kasambala said that out of the 2,500 disconnected lines in Dar es Salaam 1,650 have been restored and the remaining 850 lines were still disconnected as of yesterday because the clients had not paid their bills. He said the majority of the 850 lines belonged to individuals and a few parastatal institutions. Ndugu Kasambala pointed out that the telephone disconnection exercise affected some top government leaders, government ministries and their departments, parastatal organisations, private firms and individuals. He said that his office was trying to contact its up country office to find out how much money has been collected from the clients. Until June, this year the TPTC clients owed the corporation some 400m/- forcing the corporation to cut the lines. Meanwhile, TPTC has opened a new telephone exchange at Turiani in Morogoro region. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Oct 85 p 3] /12828

MTIBWA SUGAR OUTPUT DROPS--The Morogoro-based Mtibwa Sugar Factory expects to produce only 18,000 tonnes this season instead of the projected 27,000 tonnes, according to the factory's General Manager, P.R. Kakiziba. He told Shihata at the weekend that the constant machine breakdowns especially the boilers, seriously affected the factory's production especially during the past three months. One of the factory's two boilers broke down during the period forcing a temporary closure from August 4. Ndugu Kakiziba said the situation was now improving. He said poor production at the factory had forced the management to take austerity measures which have affected workers. He commended the workers for agreeing to forfeit overtime and leave benefits to save about 6 million/- so far. Other problems facing the factory include lack of transport facilities for ferrying workers and canes to the factory which has forced the factory to hire private transport at inflated rates. Mtibwa is one of three major sugar producing factories in the country. Others are the Kilombero Sugar Company, also in Morogoro Region and the Tanganyika Planting Company (TPC) in Kilimanjaro Region. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 15 Oct 85 p 3] /12828

EMBASSY IN RIYADH--Tanzania has elevated its diplomatic mission in Saudi Arabia to an embassy and transferred to Riyadh its Cairo Ambassador, Ndugu Abdallah Sued. A statement issued in Dar es Salaam yesterday by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the decision to open an embassy in Riyadh was in keeping with the government's policy of promoting and strengthening existing relations between the two countries. Presenting his Ministry's budget estimates in the National Assembly last July, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ndugu Benjamin Mkapa, said it was the government's priority to open an embassy in Riyadh and other friendly countries in the region. Diplomatic relations were first established in August, 1983 after a visit to that country by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs (now Prime Minister), Ndugu Salim Ahmed Salim. It was agreed that both countries would establish diplomatic representation at non-resident ambassadorial level until such time they could open embassies in each other's capital. Ndugu Sued was then accredited to Saudi Arabia. He presented his credentials to King Fahd in Riyadh on April 17, last year. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Oct 85 p 1] /12828

GRAPEVINE GROWERS--Grapevine growers in Dodoma Region are currently facing acute shortage of fertiliser and insecticides and have appealed to the regional authorities to assist them secure the materials, Shihata reported. A report presented to the Regional Development Director (RDD) yesterday said the peasants needed about 175,000 kilogrammes of fertiliser and dust insecticides; 285,000 litres of liquid insecticides; 1,000 sprayers and 10,000 rolls of wire gauze, which would be sufficient for 750 hectares of the crop. Copies of the report were also forwarded to a meeting of the Tanganyika Farmers Association (TFA) held in Dodoma. It was stated in the report that although the crop was increasingly becoming popular to the peasants in the region, the lack of essential inputs such as fertiliser discouraged them to undertake expanded farming. They cited the 1984/85 season when the TFA only ordered fertiliser for maize, millet and sorghum, forgetting about grapevine which was an important crop in the region. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Oct 85 p 3] /12828

COURSES IN BULGARIA--Twenty seven Tanzanian students leave Dar es Salaam for Sofia, Bulgaria to pursue courses in science, technology and socio-economic fields, Shihata reports. The Bulgarian Ambassador to Tanzania, Serafim Serafimov, urged the students to study hard with discipline and show respect to work. Serafimov, who was bidding them farewell, said the scholarships were accorded to them by Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the Government and pledged that his country would assist hard working and disciplined students as in the past. The students' spokesman, Ndugu George Nyimbi, paid tribute to the Bulgarian Government for offering them the scholarships, saying it symbolized the Tanzania-Bulgaria co-operation. [Text] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Oct 85 p 3] /12828

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